ŚAIVĀGAMAS

A STUDY IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC IDEAS AND INSTITUTIONS OF KASHMIR

(200 B.C. TO A.D. 700)

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VISHVA NATH DRABU



INDUS PUBLISHING COMPANY
New Delhi

First published in 1990
by Indus Publishing Company
FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi

ISBN 81-85182-38-8

Published by M. L. Gidwani, Indus Publishing Company,
FS-5, Tagore Garden, New Delhi 110027. Laser typeset by J. S. Enterprises,
8/39 Kirti Nagar Industrial Area, New Delhi 110015, and printed at
Raj Bandhu Industrial Co., Mayapuri, New Delhi-110064.

To

my mother

Japari

Preface

The Śaivāgamas with their threefold categorisation—the Dualistic school, the Dualistic-cum-Monistic school, and the Monistic school—are philosophically the most impressive and informative tantras. Principally because of their traditional base, the Āgama literature refers to a well-organized body of thought with its own logic and rationale, which may be described as a significant discipline, deriving its strength and support from those interested in tāntric *sādhanā*. The system can be traced through its literature to the fourth-fifth century; how much earlier may have been its origins, is not easy to determine. However, we know that both tradition and the earliest evidence of Śaivism in Patañjali (second century B.C.), tend to establish its austere practices to a very early date. But despite its ancient foundations and references to tantric rituals in the *Pañcarātra Saṃhitās*, it is rather surprising that due recognition has not been accorded to tantric practices and rituals and these have often been dubbed and dismissed away either as demoniacal or too esoteric. Both in the west and the east, scholars have looked disgustedly at the entire field of tantric activity. To theologians and laymen alike the tantric system of *sādhanā* has come to mean a pursuit of perverted behaviour and beliefs. This has not only belittled its importance, but has deprived us of the true import of tantric *sādhanā* and the rich mine of information that could help us to rectify some of the misconceived notions connected with the study of Śaivāgamas.

Although each of the three schools has its chief exponents and traditional base, they all emphasize the concept of thirty-six categories or *tattvas*. Param Śiva, the Ultimate Principle, is described as the thirty-seventh *tattva*. He is pure undifferentiated

consciousness, transcendent beyond the categories. He evolves through His own free will into the phenomenal world of multiplicity and thus becomes differentiated. We have then a return or reabsorption of that creation into Himself. Through a sequence of emanations and reversing the order of manifestation, Śiva plays His role as a *nartaka*.

The goal of the *sādhaka* is to seek the means of liberation which is best suited to him, considering the density of impurities (*malas*) that obscure his nature of Śivahood, and the intensity of grace he has received. Although the Āgamas are in general agreement as to the nature and role of the ultimate Reality, their different schools differ in the ways that it is to be realized. Of the four ways (*upāyas*) the *Śāmbhavopāya* (the Divine or Śiva way), the *sāktopāya* (the energic way of deliverance), the *anupāya* (the null way), are regarded superior to *ānavopāya* (the individual way). The *śāmbhava* and the *āṇupāyas* are grouped under the superior paths of deliverance.

The main purpose of this treatise is to examine not only the philosophy behind the doctrines of the Śaivas, but to investigate the most valuable data on the socio-economic ideas and institutions of Kashmir during the period from about 200 B.C. to A.D. 700. The purpose of the study is to identify the main currents in the material and social life of Kashmir and explore their linkages with religious thought and institutions of a matrilineal society which was being gradually transformed into a patriarchal one. The Āgamas reflect a mature phase of Śiva-Śakti worship, which was later to form the basis of tantrism, being characteristically shared both by tantric Buddhism and Kashmir Śaivism.

More specifically, the format of the treatise consists of ten chapters. Chapter 2, *History and the Āgamic Tradition,* offers an historical sketch of the rise of Śaivāgamas together with a review of the historical development of the principal tantras, particular emphasis has been placed on *tantra, mantra* and *yantra* and the role of the *Vīrayoginīs*. From the practical manuals we find a line of tantric *yogis* who were the principal theologians and practitioners of this system. It is from these primary sources that the metaphysics and philosophy of the system developed, and we have the type of ritualism and *dhāraṇās,* which the priestly class wished to promulgate. For most of our formulations we had to depend upon a late text of the tenth-eleventh century, namely the *Tantrāloka of Abhinavagupta,* this being the only extant work now that quotes and

explains the essence of most of the Āgamas lost to us. Abhinava, more than any other *ācārya,* has had profound influence on the development of the tantric system and on the leading Śaivācāryas who succeeded him. He is a link in the missing chain of the tantric traditions. The original works are not only referred to by him but the practices contained therein are fully transmitted. Hence the departure from the rigid time bracket of B.C. 200 to A.D. 700 in examining the scriptural traditions. Archaeological sources and iconographic evidence have been used to understand how the fusion of tantric Buddhism and Śaivism took place.

Chapter 3, *Dīkṣā,* is one of the principal chapters which underscores the importance of the initiatory structure of Śaivayoga. It is the heart of this *yoga* that dissolves the bonds (*pāśas*) of the individual (*jīva*) and prepares him in the exercise of identifying the individual self as the universal self. The initiate advances by stages to a transcendent mode of being. The success of initiation forms the bed-rock of this religious discipline.

Chapter 4, *Rituals and their Observances,* presents a change from the Vedic to the tantric ritual. The *Mātṛkābhairava puja* and the *Mānasyāga* are some of the rituals stressed upon by the *yogīs*. The tantrics regarded their own means of purification of a much superior order to those of the twenty-four *saṃskāras* that were approved in Vedic circles. *Vāstuyāga* and other rituals smack of feudal organisation of the tantric *gurus* in the divine sector to appropriate as large a surplus as possible from their newly initiated devotees.

Chapter 5, *Śaivācāryas,* attempts to examine the role of the *guru* in the initiatory structure of tantrism. It is he who plays a considerable part in all forms of *yoga* and initiation; and under his direction and guidance, the disciple attempts to recover the sense of wholeness. Like his predecessor, the *guru* of the Vedic period, the Śaivācārya is a part of the social life. It is through him that the tantric tradition is transmitted from generation to generation (*guru-paramparā*). The bond of inter-connectedness between the *guru* and the *śiṣya* may be seen in the *āśrama* where they live. We have a long line of teachers and *gurus* who are classified and distinguished according to their attainments and the discipline of mind: *guru, ācārya, daiśika, sāṃsiddhayogīs, mahāmunis,* etc. reveal different stages of the mystic saints-cum *gurus*. They are studied in the context of *kula-krama* (family tradition of the disciples). The role of the *dūtī* (female messenger/*guru*) as an intermediary for the reali-

zation of the supreme is especially striking. They incorporate both speculative and mystic tendencies.

Chapter 6, *Maṭhikās*, is closely allied to the Śaivācāryas and their peculiar role in the social organisation of the time. As the whole tradition was transmitted from father to son or disciple's disciple, it came to be known as *maṭhikā* or precisely *tryambaka-maṭhikā*. Though this institution must have played a notable role in the dissemination of Śaiva culture and Trika-ethos, we have no means to determine its true nature and exact functioning. Only a living *maṭhikā* could give us a glimpse of the way their prototypes functioned in the age of the Āgamas.

Chapter 7, *Social Dimensions*, attempts to study the evolution of *vīrayoginī sampradāya* and the Śaiva Sādhaka's *dīkṣā* in all its ramifications. The different *ācāras* (codes of conduct) are examined together with all the four *upāyas*. We have then attempted to study the hierarchical pyramid of the *ācārya-sāmanta* combine in acquiring the social surplus.

Chapter 8, *Regional Distribution*, next presents the distribution and popularity of the tantric ideology in and around the valley with the help of the archaeological data. It attempts to look at its regional distribution through the various types of icons and *yantras*, evolved and developed according to their *sādhanā*.

Chapter 9, *Doctrines of the Śaivas*, is a resume of the Saiva doctrines, which attempts nothing new. It is in fact, a summary of the main tenets as attempted by Dr. K. C. Pandey and Chatterji. What strikes us here is the assimilation and diffusion of Buddhist ideology and we are tempted to look upon Kashmir Śaivism as an offshoot of Tantric Buddhism. That the two meet and intersect each other at many vital points, just suggests how the brahmanas could evolve new trends in their speculation and mystic thinking, without caring much for the labels. Triadic metaphysics has its close parallels in Buddhist thought. The dark night of mystical awakening of Śiva is, in fact, the illumination of the Buddha and what distinguishes one from the other is the light of consciousness as set against the theory of *nirvāṇa* to some unknown ethereal region.

What seems to emerge from this overall study, therefore, is that Śaivāgamas touch upon the most profound problems of human experience and, far from advocating any theory of *saṃnyāsa*, (renunciation), suggest that the unitive experience of God or Sivahood can be accomplished through His grace and taboos of caste are

redundant in the path of self-realization.

As a general rule throughout this literary effort, the original Sanskrit terms are placed in parentheses with their English equivalents. An extensive glossary of the technical terms is included at the end of the study for ready reference.

And now, a word or two of indebtedness. I thank Prof. Lallanji Gopal and Prof. R.S. Sharma, who have given me valuable suggestions. I also thank the Librarians and the staff of the Archaeological Survey of India. To Shri J.L. Bhan of the Central Asian Museum, Shri A.K. Trakru of the Research Library, Srinagar and Shri R.L. Safaya of the State Archaeology Department, I am much obliged for their cooperation and help in providing me useful material and access to some of the manuscripts.

To my colleagues and friends, both inside and outside the academic circle, who have encouraged me over the past six years, my personal thanks. Here I remember Shri Moti Lal Saqi, one of the editors in the Academy of Languages, Literature and Art, Jammu and Kashmir Government, Srinagar.

I would specifically like to mention those whose help in this endeavour has been most felt. To my mentor, Svāmī Lakṣmaṇjoo, I owe a debt difficult to describe and virtually impossible to pay. His grace (*anugraha*) and assistance in so many ways, has been a substantial inspiration to me. I would like to thank the Indian Council of Historical Research for the financial assistance it extended to me in the form of a research fellowship in conducting the necessary investigation, which, besides a study of numerous manuscripts, involved field-work to collect the relevant data.

To my typist, Shri P.L. Gagroo and the cameraman, Shri Satis Koul who did such a good job in so short a time, amidst their many encumbrances, I am also indebted.

And finally, I owe a debt of gratitude to my wife, Durga, and to our three children who bore the household burden for most of the time I was away from home in researching and writing this book.

VISHVA NATH DRABU

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Abbreviations

Ahir Sam	*Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā*
I (AR)	*Archaeological Survey of India,* Annual Reports
ASI (R)	*Archaeological Survey of India,* Reports by Sir Alexander Cunningham
AV	*Atharvaveda*
B. M. Cat.	*British Museum Catalogue*
CMI	*Coins of Medieval India*
Cat, Br. Im. Ma. Art	*A Catalogue of the Brāhmaṇical Images in Mathura Art*
Comm.	*Commentary*
DHI	*Development of Hindu Iconography*
Ed.	*Edited by / Edition*
EHI	*Elements of Hindu Iconography*
ERE	*Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*
E. Ind.	*Epigraphica Indica*
GP	*Gurunātha-Parāmarśa*
HIL	*History of Indian Literature*
IA	*Indian Antiquary,* Bombay
IP	*Īśvara-Pratyabhijñā*
IPVV	*Īśvarapratyabhijñāvivrtti- vimarśinī*
JASB	*Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*

Jaya Sam.	*Jayākhya Saṃhitā*
JNSI	*Journal of Numismatic Society of India*
KU	*Kaṭhopaniṣad*
Mā Vi Ta (n)	*Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*
Mā Vi Vā	*Mālinīvijayāvarttikā*
Mbh	*Mahābhārata*
MT	*Mataṅga Tantra*
NMP	*Nīlamata Purāṇa*
NT	*Netra Tantra*
Paratrim	*Parātriṁśikā/Parātriśikā*
PS	*Paramārthasāra*
PTV	*Parātriśikā-Vivaraṇa*
RT	*Rājataraṅgiṇī*
RV	*Ṛgveda*
Sat Br	*Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*
Sat S	*Ṣaṭtrimśat-tattva-sandoha*
SS	Śivasūtras
SS Va	*Śivasūtravārttika*
SS Vi	*Śivasūtravimarśinī*
SBE	*Sacred Books of the East*
SD	Śivadṛṣti
Mus Coll	*S.P.S. Museum Collection*
Svacchanda	*Svacchanda Tantra*
TA	*Tantrāloka*
VBH	*Vijñānabhairava*
Vs MRS	*Vaisnavism, Saivism and Minor Religious Sects*

1
Introduction

The critics of Tantrism assert that it is a degraded form of Hinduism which consisted of the most barbarous, repulsive and obnoxious elements.[1] Some of the arguments were supported and carried further by Monier Williams and Hopkins, etc.[2] Winternitz thinks that "the tantras and the curious excrescences and degenerations of religion described in them are not drawn from popular belief or from popular traditions either of the aboriginal inhabitants or of the Aryan immigrants, but they are the pseudoscientific productions of the theologians, in which the practice and theory of yoga and doctrines of the monist (*advaita*) philosophy are seen mingled with the most extravagant symbolism and occultism."[3] The numerous magical rituals to achieve liberation (*mukti*) and enjoyment (*bhukti*) and the orgiastic rites involving the use of five *makārās*, i.e. *matsya* (fish), *māmsa* (meat), *madya* (intoxicant drink), *maithuna* (sex) and *mudra* (physical gestures) came in for sharp criticism. Waddell[4] went to the extent of saying that "in the tenth century A.D. the tantrik phase developed in Northern India, Kashmir and Nepal into the monstrous and polydemonic doctrine, the *Kala-cakra* with its demoniacal Buddha, which incorporated the Mantrayāna practices, and called itself the Vajrayāna or Thunderbolt vehicle.[5] Though Barth expressed doubts about Hinduism ever giving way to Christianity or to any other religion, he too was critical about the use of animal food and spirituous liquors being indulged to in excess and the worship of Śakti in the person of a naked woman, the carnal copulation of the initiated, each couple representing

Bhairava and Bhairavī (Śiva and Devī). He considers the *Śrī-cakra* (the holy circle) the "highest rite of this delirious mysticism." In fact, a Śākta of the left hand is almost always a hypocrite and a superstitious debauchee.[6]

The application of Western methods of critical studies to tantrism also commended itself to a large number of Indian scholars who were no less sceptical about its rites and rituals. B.C. Chatterjce viewed tantra as a "misguiding principle", which offered only wine and women in the name of religion.[7] Mitra wrote that the tantric practices are at once "the most revolting and horrible that human depravity could think of." A closer study in the field of Vajrayānic studies led Benoytosh Bhattacharya to remark that "if at any time in the history of India the mind of the nation as a whole has been diseased, it was in the tantric age, or the period immediately preceding the Mohammedan conquest of India."[8] Thus in the latter half of the nineteenth century and the first two quarters of the twentieth century a number of eminent scholars, both Western and Indian, could only notice visible signs of decadence and depravity in the tantras, regarding them as most monstrous.

At the other extreme end are the opinions of those Indian scholars, who wished to stress the "spiritual" side of the tantras. According to them tantra deals with both the theoretical and practical aspect of spiritual life. The former is known as Nigama and the latter Āgama. Gopinath Kaviraj, one of the eminent scholars of tantrism, regards the Veda as Nigama and Tantra as Āgama.[9] The *Mrgendra Tantra*[10] is an apologia of such opinions. Here we find the Vedic deity narrating the story of the discovery of this Tantram. Śiva emerges as the founder of the tantra and is accepted as the Supreme Deity by Vedic exegesis. Indra is made only an agency for bringing the sacred knowledge of tantra to the world after direct contact with Śiva himself. This legend establishes the supremacy of the tantra over the Vedas. The *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* is stated to be a never-failing help in crossing the ocean of mundane existence, related to the devoted *munis by* Kārttikeya after he had heard it from the Devī and Parameśa.[11] Law argued that those who wrote religious history paid scant attention to *sādhanā* which forms the essence of Indian religions.[12] The universality of the tantras is evident from the fact that it was first adopted by the Vaiṣṇavas and then by the Bauddhas. Pañcarātrins adopted tantric practices in

Vaiṣṇavism and used Viṣṇu's name instead of Śiva, of Lakshmī for Śakti. Śakti is the immanent principle; without Śakti one cannot attain the state of Buddhahood. The fundamental position of Hindu and Buddhist Tantric pantheons is the same. The two Buddhist feminine divinities Prajñāpāramitā, an incarnation of supreme wisdom, and Tārā, the epiphany of the great Goddess of aboriginal India, came to occupy the same position as did Śakti in Hinduism. She is raised to the rank of a Divine Mother who sustains both the universe and also the numerous manifestation of the gods.[13] Eliade recognises in her the "religion of the Mother" that in ancient times reigned over an immense Aegeo-Afrasiatic territory and which was the chief form of devotion among autochthonous peoples of India. A scholar looks at the Hindu mythology, the Krishna cult, Yoga and Tantra as replete with magical lore, and symbolism of tribal origin.[14] Deviprasad Chattopadhyaya sees some original significance attributed to these particular beliefs and practices which one is apt to miss if one is carried away by a spirit of sheer moral repugnance.[15] European scholars like Zimmer and Eliade admit the primacy of the Śakti as the Divine Woman and Mother in tantrism and in all the movements deriving from it.[16]

A good deal of the Indus art and hieroglyphics seem to be intimately connected with tantric motifs of Hinduism. The numerous seal-legends and clay-tablets from Sumeria indicate the social basis of the tantric rites. Anthropological researches in the nineteenth century sought to know and understand the manner in which religious and theistic ideas arose and developed among a people, how the influence of Bhakti and the revalorization of folk magic by tantrism acquired erotic undertones in Hinduism. Tantra-śāstra is basically a *Sādhanā - śāstra* ("realization") in which a sort of religious rediscovery of the mystery of woman has played a crucial role. Every woman becomes the incarnation of the Śakti that symbolises the mystery of creation and the mystery of being. Though the Tantra attaches great importance to the doctrine of Sakti, this doctrine is not the feature of Śāktism alone. It has been shared by all known forms of the Hindu religion. Tantras need a fresh interpretation. Their real contents are obscured because of the brāhmanical social ideas which were superimposed on the original Āgamas.

The contention of Farquhar that Śāktism emerged as a religious factor in the sixth century and became a strong force from the

ninth century is not supported from the internal evidence of the Āgamas.[17] The references to *Śūnya* [18] (absorption in non-space) and *Mānasa-Yāga*[19] clearly indicate that these practices were known since very early times. Schraeder is right in maintaining that the tantric rituals mentioned in the *Pañcarātra Saṃhitās* may have been known or practised in the period represented by the Mahābhārata.[20] The *Ahirbudhnya Saṃhitā* (a Kashmiri work ascribed to the fourth century)[21] is clearly conversant with *dīkṣā, yoga,* tantric practices and mystical diagrams.[22] The cult of the mother-goddess and the tantric practices had prevailed in the country from much earlier time, and in the fourth-fifth century it acquired an outstanding place in literature, written traditions of the Buddhist and *brāhmaṇical* sects. Kalidasa, in his invocatory verse of the *Raghuvaṃśaṃ* bows down to the Father and Mother of the Universe, who are united together like a word and its meaning. It is obvious that tantric creed and tantric form of worship was in vogue long before Kalidasa.

A deep appreciation of tantrism and its philosophy was first expressed by Sir John Woodroffe (under the pseudonym of Arthur Avalon) who, in a series of essays and the publication of the most important Tantra Texts, made an objective study of this religion and literature.[23] The treatment of Śiva-Śakti in his books is, by the nature of the work, exhaustive and thoroughly analytical. This is the first pioneer work containing much useful information about the tantras. Avalon's works have tempted scholars to investigate into the origins of the ideas and rituals propounded by the tantras.

It has been suggested that the original purpose for which magic was used was economic, directly connected with food production. In pre-class societies it was believed that men could bring the forces of nature under their control by collective rituals and other performances. In class societies *primitive* magic transformed itself into the esoteric art of the ruling or privileged class. The magico-tantric rites of sexual-union were supposed to be closely associated with fertility rites in pre-historic and historic times.[24] The material milieu of the tantras is now being stressed by several scholars.[25]

Of some notable articles related to the subject, we may mention Erhengel's essay (1941) on *Mother-Right in India,* throwing some light on the matrilineal tribes and the cult of mother-goddess.[26] D.K. Chakravarty's short essay on the *Antiquity and the Evolution of the*

Saptamātṛkā Worship in Bengal tries to explain the close association of tantrism with aboriginal areas and tribes who continued the veneration of stone tools and weapons as cult symbols associated with fertility rites.[27] D. D. Kosambi contributed an article on the mother-goddess cult sites in ancient India,[28] indicating the trend towards tantrism and the role played by the aboriginal mother-goddesses. In recent years some more literature has been added to tantrism, the latest being *Krama Tantricism* by Navajivan Rastogi[29] and *Triadic Mysticism*[30] by Paul E. Murphy. Both of these works, however, relate to a theological treatment of the tantras than an analytical study of the origin and development of tantric practices.

II

Derived from the root √ gam, the word 'Āgama' means coming near or approaching[31] (ā + √*gam* + *ghañ*) and would literally convey the sense of 'achievement'/'accomplishment.' By the time of Manu[32] the word seems to have acquired a definite meaning in the context of a traditional doctrine or precept or a collection of such doctrines, sacred work, Brāhmaṇa, etc. Used in a wider sense, the word Āgama subsequently came to mean 'anything handed down and fixed by tradition as the reading of a text, or a record or a title-deed, etc, and specifically a tantra or work inculcating the mystical worship of 'Śiva Śakti'. A class of works teaching the highest yoga and mystical formularies (mostly in the form of dialogues between Bhairava and Bhairavī,)[33] and said to treat of five subjects: 1) the creation, 2) the destruction of the world, 3) the worship of the gods, 4) the attainment of all objects, especially of six superhuman faculties, and 5) the four modes of union with the Supreme Spirit by meditation was covered in its generalized framework. Mainly the achievement of highly evolved and realized souls, these doctrines of the Siddhas were ascribed to Śiva[34] who, in the course of His dialogues, revealed these to Devī, and the entire corpus was regarded as divine and not human (*Kulārṇava Tantra*). Thus came the Āgamas that claimed primacy over the Vedas both in point of time and performance of ritual.[35] Both philosophic and *sādhanā* aspects were intermingled and analyzed in detail, without any separate treatment of the one from the other.

Though the Śaivas claim their doctrines to be older, originating in Tibet (Woodroffe), it appears that the Āgamas were posterior to

the Vedas. There are passages in the Veda touching upon yogic phenomena, which are described in the tantras more elaborately. It is in the tantras that yoga has been worked out so thoroughly. The Śaivāgamas, in particular, share the Buddhist line of thinking and the methodology of reasoning and logic alongwith positive testimony only to refute the Buddhist concept of *nirvāṇa* and *anātmavāda* (non-existence of soul).

The word 'tantra' is formed by the root *tanu-vistare* (to spread or to spin) with the suffix *ṣṭrn* and occurs for the first time in the *Rgveda*[36] with reference to the vulgar trades followed by the lay-folk, with unrefined speech. Sāyana, in his commentary on it, explains that *tantra* is an agricultural implement (plough or loom) which is spread out or 'elaborated' or merely 'worked'. Both *Atharvaveda*[37] and Pāṇini[38] use the word more specifically in the sense of a 'loom'/*tantraka* (a piece of cloth just taken out of the loom). In course of time (four or five centuries before Christ), it came to signify a system of *angasamudayah*[39] (composed of aspects). This would mean that the word had now acquired a ritualistic character and was associated with the elaboration of *mantras*, *yantras*,[40] etc. An extended meaning in the sense of rituals is suggested by Śabara: "when what is performed but once serves many purposes —even as a lamp lit up in the midst of priests."[41] The name of a glossator of Kumarila (a renowned teacher of Mīmāṃsā philosophy) connected with Śabarabhāṣya of Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmāṃsā* is Tantra-Vārttika, which literally means a critical annotator of sūtras or a master of the Śāstras. Mahābhāṣya takes the word tantra in the sense of a principle or Śāstra.[42] Kautilya uses the expression in the sense of a fundamental canon used for explaining and expounding a system of thought.[43] Yājñavalkya[44] and Śaṃkarācārya[45] too use it in the same sense. In due course tantra came to imply a well organized body of thought with its own logic and rationale, and was even looked upon as equivalent to 'authority' or 'tradition.' Some of the Puranas show how even when the tantra came to signify a 'discipline', it could not shed off its ritualistic import that had come to be associated with it.[46]

Broadly speaking, the Āgamas (the expression used for the tantra in many works) could be subdivided into two main portions, one the philosophic and the other practical, whereas a few would divide the tantras into three sub-divisions, each comprising sixty-four tantras. Jayaratha's allusions to the *Śrīkaṇṭhī*[47] are significant

as they refer to the study of ten Śiva Tantras, eighteen Rudra Tantras and sixty-four Bhairava Tantras (grouped into eight categories) belonging to the dualistic, dualistic-cum-monistic and monistic schools. Of the ten Śiva Tantras, Jayaratha lists *Kāmaja, Yogaja, Cintya, Maukuta, Amśumata, Dīpta.....*[48] Next he proceeds to Rudrabheda, which include *Vijaya, Niśvāsa, Madgīta, Parameśvara, Mukha-bimba, Siddha, Santāna, Narasiṃhaka, Candrāṃśu, Vīrabhadra, Āgneya, Svyambhuva, Visara, Raurava, Pañcavimala, Kirana, Lalita* and *Saurabheya,* The sixty-four monistic Bhairava Tantras comprise eight groups of eight tantras each. The eight groups, as referred to by Sadāśiva are: *Bhairava, Yāmala, Matākhya, Maṅgala, Cakrāṣṭaka, Sikhāśtaka, Bahurūpa, Vāgeśa.* Bahurūpa enumerates the eight bhedas of Svacchanda as *Svacchanda Bhairava, Bhairavayāmala, Caṇḍa, Krodha, Unmatta Bhairava, Asitāṅga, Mahotśuṣma, Kapālīśa.* The second group includes: *Brahmayāmala, Visṇuyāmala, Svacchanda, Ruru, Ātharvana, Rudra, Vetala.* The Matabheda group comprises: *Rakhta Lampaṭa, Mata, Lakṣyīmā, Cālikā, Piṅgala, Utphullaka, Mata Viśvādya.* In the Caṇḍabheda we have *Bhairavī, Picutantrabhairavī, Brāhmī, Kalā, Vijayā, Candrā, Maṅgalā, Sarvamaṅgalā.* Asitāṅga mentions the eight bhedas of Cakrabheda: *Mantracakra, Varṇacakra, Śakticakra, Kalācakra, Binducakra, Nādacakra, Guhyacakra, Khacakra.* Ruru mentions the eight Rurubhedas: *Andhaka, Ruru-bheda, Ajātantra, Mūlantantra, Varṇabhaṇṭha, Viḍaṅga, Jvālin, Mātṛrodana.* Kapālīsa mentions the Vagīśabhedas as: *Bhairavī, Citrikā, Haṇsā, Kadambikā, Hṛtalekhā, Candralekhā, Vidyutlekhā, Vidyumāna.* Devī is told that Unmatta relates the Śikhābhedas as: *Bhairavī-Śikhā, Vīṇā, Vīṇāmani, Saṃmoha, Ḍāmara, Atharvaka, Kabandha, Śiraśccheda.*

Jayaratha's references to the rich source material of the Āgamas indicate that there were many sections of it, which remained untouched by Abhinavagupta. Of special interest are the allusions to the Śrīkaṇṭhī for the study of the Āgamic literature classified above, and an interpretation of a number of words with the help of the cognate tantric material. His treatment of the principle of a right teacher and his initiation is a case in point.[50] This would suggest that the Āgamas had an extensive coverage, a lot of material from varied sources, which makes a chronological analysis of this material rather difficult. Jayaratha refers to the *Kramasadbhāva, Śāradhā-Śatika, Ānandeśvaratantra, Pañcāmṛta, Bhūtakṣobha, Anantavijaya, Kulakramodaya* and *Kula-Krīḍāvatara* for the first time, detailing

their formal structure, subject-matter and other crucial points. The *Kramasadbhāva*, an Āgama of Nigama class, advocated the worship of sixteen or seventeen deities[51]; the Ānandesvara tantra was possibly a tantra of the left path, which advocated *tarpana* (offering libations of water) with the aid of the thumb and the middle finger; the *Anantavijaya* belonged to Sidhānta Śaivism; the *Kulakramodaya*, a Kaula tantra, dealt with the assignment in the body conceived as a spiritual seat; the *Kula-Krīḍāvatāra* with esoteric items like *Ovallī, mudrā, cchumā, pallī, pīṭha ghara* of the six competent teacher princes etc. It is clear that a tantra, far from referring to any particular book or treatise, stood for a system of thought, a body of practices which was not necessarily shared by others. This possibly explains the development of a huge corpus of tantric literature, not always committed to writing, which combined both the philosophical and practical aspects of *sādhāna*. The tantra was essentially a confidential affair, strictly private to the practitioner and his master. It seems that motivated by compassion for fellow-creatures, the Mahāyāna and Vajrayāna tantrics might have introduced the practice of writing against the injunctions of writing and publicity and found an expedient method in employing 'symbolic speech.' They wrote in a language which all could read but few understand. This language, or rather the style of writing, is technically known as *'sandhabhāsā'* (hidden sayings).[52]

The tantric *sādhanā* is claimed to lead an aspirant to spiritual *siddhi* and *mukti*. At first the Vedic tradition and the tantric tradition were almost irreconcilable. Each camp looked upon the other as antagonistic, perverse and purposeless.[53] In the process of conflict and struggle for ascendance, the tantric adherents and the Vedic puritans assimilated the attractive particulars of the other and paved the way for synthesis.[54] In tantric worship Vedic *mantras* too are employed besides the ones composed in the tantra sastra itself. There is provision for *bīja-mantras* and *mantras* associated with mystical syllable forming part of a *mantra* used as an amulet (*kavaca*), the heart (*hṛidaya*) and mental appropriation or assignment of various parts of the body to tutelary deities (*nyāsa*) to achieve *siddhi* in *mantras*. The tantras lay down suitable norms for the selection of place, time and rosaries. In tantric worship *nyāsa, mudrās, yantras* and *mandalas* occupy an important place. The tutelary deities are invoked with hand gestures and finger manipulations (*mudrās*) and particular position of the hands on

different parts of the body to render it fit for their adoration. Mystical diagrams (*yantras*) are drawn on birch-bark, paper and other metals for worshipping a particular deity or deities. And lastly, another important constituent of tantric worship is *maṇḍala*, which is a coloured *maṇḍapa* and *vedī* (elevated piece of ground serving for a sacrificial altar), generally strewed with *kusa* grass,[55] and having receptacles for the sacrificial fire. Basic to both *yantra* (unusual patterns) and *mantra* (uncommon formulae) is the belief that these operate both within the gross physical body and the subtle body, which was to be so organised as to promote the goal of yoga by a process of reintegration of 'rituals', symbolic and suggestive. The tantra is thus primarily a practical discipline and its philosophy was never crystallised.

In the present work an attempt has been made to make full use of the Kashmirian Āgamas, the *Mālinī*, *Svacchanda*, *Netra* and the *Gandharva* Āgamas and archaeological sources, including the magnum opus *Tantrāloka* [56] of Abhinavagupta, which have provided valuable material. A thorough utilisation of the numismatic and iconographic evidence, together with that derived from the Śaivāgamas, has enabled us to trace the regional distribution and extent of tantrism in much greater detail. Besides, greater attention is paid to the *Saptamātṛkās* who have not till now attracted much attention. The terra-cotta pieces from the two important sites of Wontabhavan (Srinagar) and Simthan (Bijbehara) have been thoroughly examined to determine the social and original char-acter of Śiva-Śakti concept. The present study has been under- taken to find a social basis and material milieu of the Āgamas, which, in the course of their evolution, exercised a remarkable influence on different cults. The tantric art motifs reveal a close resemblance in the icons of the Buddhists and Śaivas, who seem to have drawn their inspiration from a common stock of tribal deities and their rituals. The tantra was in origin folk and hence the abstract elements were minimal. There was an unmistakable emphasis on the individual as against the collective orientation of the Vedic tradition, concerning itself primarily with man and his daily round of activities.

NOTES

1. Wilson, *Essays and Lectures chiefly on the Religion of the Hindus*, London, 1862, Vol. I, pp. 248-257.
2. M. Monier Williams, *Indian Wisdon*, London, 1875, pp. 501 ff; *Brahmanism and Buddhism*, London, 1891, pp. 191 ff; E.W. Hopkins, *Religions of India*, Boston, 1885, pp. 489-492, etc.
3. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (i) Pt. II, 531 (Second Ed.), Calcutta Univ.
4. L.A. Waddell, *The Buddhism of Tibet*, London, 1895, p. 15.
5. A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, London 1882, p. 205.
6. *Ibid*.
7. Quoted in H.P Śastri's *Buddha Dharma* in Bengali (*Budha Gan O Doha*), Calcutta, 1916, p. 82.
8. *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism*, Oxford , 1932, Preface.
9. *Bharatiya Samskriti and Sadhana*, Bihar Rashtra Bhasa Parisad, Patna, 1963, p. i.
10. Introduction.
11. Colophon.
12. N.N. Law, *Studies in Indian History and Culture*, 1925, pp. 157-159.
13. M. Eliade, *Yoga*, London, 1958, p. 202.
14. Richard Lannoy, *The Speaking Tree*, p. 189.
15. *Lokāyata*, Delhi, 1959, pp 65-66.
16. Yoga, p. 203; *Myths and Symbols in Indian Art and Civilization* ed. Joseph Campbell, New York, 1946, p. 191.
17. J.N. Farquhar, *An Outline of Hindu Religious Literature*, Oxford, 1919, p. 167.
18. *VB*, 128-149; *Svacchanda*, IV, 292-294.
19. *Svacchanda*.
20. Schraeder, *Introduction to Pañcaratra Samhitas*, pp. 4-13, 15-19.
21. Winternitz, *A History of Indian Literature* (1927 edition), p. 389.
22. *Ahir. Sam*, Chapts. 20, 21-27 etc.
23. A. Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, Part I, London, 1914, Part II, 1961; Sir John Woodroffe, *Śhakti and Śakta*, 2nd Edn, Madras and London, 1920 and the Introductions to the translation of the *Mahānirvāṇa-Tantra* and to the "Tantrika Texts" edited by him. Numerous tantras have been catalogued and described by Harprasad Sastri; Notices of Sanskrit MSS, Second series I,

Calcutta, 1900, pp. XXIV-XXXVII; Catalogue of Palm Leaf and *Selected Paper MSS* belonging to the Durbar Library, Nepal, Calcutta, 1905, pp. VII-XXXI, etc.
24. E.O. James, *Pre-historic Religion*, New York, 1957, p. 172.
25. Max Weber, *The Religion of India* , Glencoe, Illinois, 1958, p. 297; R.S. Sharma, *Material Milieu of Tantricism*, pp. 175-189.
26. D. C. Sircar, *The Śakti Cult and Tārā*, University of Calcutta, 1967, p. 67.
27. *Proceedings of the Bhagalpur Session of the Indian History Congress*, 1968, p. 129.
28. "At the Cross-roads: Mother Goddess Cult Sites in Ancient India", Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London, 1960, 17-31, 135-44.
29. *Krama Tantricism of Kashmir*, Vol I, Delhi, 1979.
30. Pail E. Murphy, *Triadic Mysticism*, Delhi, 1986. The commentary of Abhinavagupta (c. tenth century) has been used only to co-relate the information of the extant Āgamas with those that are no longer available but which were accessible then and are referred to by him in different *Āhnikas* (daily discourses to his disciples).
31. *AV*, Vi, 81, 2, XIX, 35, 3.
32. XII, 105.
33. *TA*, I, Vol I, p. 24, *loc. cit.*
34. *TA*, I, p. 40, *loc. cit.*
35. *Ibid*, pp. 48-49.
36. *RV*, 10. 71.9 *ime ye navaring na parascaranti na brahmanaso na sutekarasah/ te etc vacam abhipadya papaya siristantram tanvate aprajaynyah.*
37. 10.7.42.
38. *Aṣṭādhyāyī*, V. 2. 70, VI. 4.44.
39. *Āpastamba Śrauta-sūtra*, I. 51.1.
40. Āpastamba's commentator explains that tantra is a ritual procedure with multiple details.
41. Śabara on Jaimini's *Pūrva-Mīmaṃsā-sūtra*, 11.4.1; also *Sankhyayana-srauta-sutra*, 1.16.6.
42. IV, 2.60
43. *Adhikarṇa* 15; see also Caraha, 12, 36; *Suśruta*, 65, 32.
44. I, 228.
45. *Brahma-Sūtra-bhāṣya.*
46. Agnipurāṇa, 372, 34; *Bhāgavata*, 11th Skandha; *'Vaidiki tantriki*

misra etc trividho makhah'.

47. Quoted in the *TA*, I, pp. 39-45, *loc. cit.*
48. *Ibid.*, p. 40. The others missing in the list, seem to be *Karanāgama, Suprabhedāgama, Ajitāgama*, etc.
49. Related by Krodeśabhairava.
50. Quoted in *TA*, IV, 50.
51. *Ibid*. (29th *Āhnik*), pp 28-29.
52. Till recently the *Sandhabhāsā/Sandhyabhāṣā* was used in Kashmir in the learned families of the brāhmaṇās who would communicate the ritualistic presentation of a tantric tract to their children at bed time.
53. The *Purānas* proclaimed that the tantras only confounded the wicked: *duṣṭānam mohānarthāya*. Kumārila (c. sixth century) held that the tantra was meant for the degenerate, the uneducated, the fallen, or the infirm. The tantrics, on the other hand, held that the Vedas being antiquated, cannot lead to much good (ch. *Kākacandeśvaramata*).
54. For the new attitude see Aparārka's gloss on *Yājñavalkya Saṃhitā* 'Saubhāgyakāṇḍa' of *Atharvaveda;* Bhāskararay's *Setubandha*, p. 5; *Visnudharmottara*, 1.165. 55-63; Śaṃkara's (late sixth century) works *Prapañcasāra, Saundaryalahrī* and commentaries on Upanisads. Brahmasutras, etc.
55. For the significance of grasses see Gonda: 'Significance of Grass in Rituals'. Variously described as cosmogram, 'cosmogenic model, map of the soul', lay out of the psyche, a *mandala* is generally drawn in variegated colours of pounded rice or rice mixed with sesam for purposes of worshipping deities in it. It is a visible geometrical design, often a circle (*cakra*), denoting the entirety of existence.
56. For an alphabetical list see 'The Kashmir Series of Texts and Studies', Research and Publication Department, Srinagar.

2
History and the Āgamic Tradition

The origins of the Āgamic tradition must, doubtless, go back to the pre-Mauryan period. The first references to this tradition can be found in the later Vedic literature (*Atharvaveda*). Similarity of the Āgamic tradition is also met with in the *Arthaśāstra* where a clear practical aspect of the "material culture", its stress on the pursuit of the useful material gains brings it closer to the *Arthaśāstra* tradition, which contains some tāntric *mantras*. It appears that a group of rationalist brāhmaṇas like Kautilya advocated the supremacy of *artha* (wealth) over *dharma*, which accounts for the inclusion of tāntric tenets in the *Arthaśāstra*. We may not be far too wrong to assume that since the days of the (*Arthaśāstra*) tradition the brāhmaṇas had fully realized the importance of wealth both as a means of the earthly gains and the performance of rituals. The leitmotiv of the Tantras, stressing the importance of *bhukti* and *mukti*, is quite in tune with the Atharvavedic and Kautilyan tradition. But this does not help us in the problem of dating the Āgamas, which show clearly the impact of the pre-Vedic people on the Vedic society to which they were admitted with distinctive characteristic of their own social life at different periods. It is likely that the tāntric ideas were formulated in post-Maurya and Gupta times. Not long ago it was thought that the beginnings of tantric literature must be put in the seventh century.[1]

Certain scholars tend to exaggerate the antiquity of the Āgamas. B.L. Mukherji (*Tantra Shastra and Veda*) and Chakravarti (*Antiquity of Tantricism*) have tried to prove perfect agreement between tantrism and the Vedas. B. Bhattacharya believes that the practices

and doctrines of tantrism were introduced by the Buddha himself.[2] The Āgamas, no doubt, contain certain very old elements, most of which seem to belong to the religious proto-history of India. But their introduction into Buddhism and Śaivism began—in any case, not before the second-third centuries of Christian era.[3] We know that *Pratyabhijñā* (doctrine of self-recognition) philosophy had developed by the seventh century. It is reasonable to presume that the evolution of this philosophy must have taken a considerable time, say two hundred years, at least, for the Āgamas to develop into philosophy. The legend in Somañanda's *Śivaḍṛsti* points to the same conclusion. It says that a thousand years after the beginning of the *Kali-yuga* the Tantras were lost and later restored by Śrī-kaṇṭhanātha. This also gives the probable date of their composition as the second-third century.

Though the time-bracket of all the Śaivāgamas is not uniform, they, nevertheless, give us valuable information about the mythology, rituals and tenets of the Śaivas and Śāktas, some of which are shared by the Vajrayāna school of Buddhists and Vaiṣṇavas. A proper collation of all available source-material is necessary in the absence of the specific dates of almost all the Āgamas generally assigned to the post-Mauryan and Gupta periods. The archaeological records of this period are of invaluable help to us in determining to what extent were the tantric practices prevalent among the people. The evidence derived from epigraphs, coins and icons supplement our knowledge, which is mostly derived from scriptural sources. As the evidence from the Āgamas relates to the myths and legends of this period, we have taken into account similar legends from Mahāyāna Buddhism, which exercised a considerable influence on the tantric rituals. In fact, most of the concepts are found both in the Vajrayāna complex and the Śaivites; hence the contention of Arthur Avalon that "there is no justification in favour of the argument that the Tantras are the offshoots of the Buddhist Mahāyāna cult" is not supported by our sources. The two schools seem to have been complementary to each other, though it is difficult to say who was the originator of those practices which are found both in Tāntric Buddhism and Śaivism.

The opening verses of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*[4] indicate that the present Tantra had an earlier version in the *Siddhayogīśvarī-tantram* consisting of nine crore verses, which interpreted the Śivaistic teachings in their distinctive forms of *bheda* (duality),

bhedābheda (duality-cum-non-duality), and *abheda* (non-duality). The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* presupposes *Pūrvamālinī* in which the *mātṛkā* system of alphabets, i.e. from 'a' to 'kṣa', based on *parasamvit* (cosmic consciousness) had been prevalent. That Tantra was voluminous and, with the passage of time, it became quite unintelligible to the common people. Under the changed circumstances, Lord Śiva abridged it and the present *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* came into being. The old *mātṛkā* system got changed into Mālinī in which 'na' occupies the first position and 'pha' the last and the vowels and consonants are taken promiscuously. The Mālinī is in the Sūtra form. The *Mālinītantra* appears to be the latter part of the *Siddhayogīśvarītantram*, communicated by a worshipper of Śiva-Śakti (*aghora*), who had appropriated it in preference to the former part of the *Siddhamatam*. The *aghoras* thus, at a crucial stage of the development of the Śiva-Śakti cult, were in the main responsible for its abstraction into a Tantra of twelve thousand verses and its transformation into the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*. The great sages, the 'mind-born' sons of Brahma and others, under the inspiration of Śiva-Śakti, request Kumara to initiate them in the mystic practices of *yoga*.[7] He just communicates to them the secret knowledge of the *Mālinīvijayottara tantras*, as originally addressed by Śiva to Umā. The legend points to the gradual discontinuance of Kumāra worship which was known during the second century B.C.[8] This is borne out by the archaeological and numismatic data as well.[9] But this independent worship in northern India got completely merged in the cult of Śiva sometime after the Gupta period. This would suggest that Skanda Kārttikeya ceased to have a separate existence sometime in the first quarter of the fifth century. Textual and archaeological data and the mythology about Skanda Kārttikeya's origin tend to prove the growing popularity of the Śiva-Śakti cult around the last quarter of the fourth century. It appears that with the advent of the *Kali-yuga* men with limited intelligence desired the essence of *yogamārga*[10] (the path of Yoga) for the fulfilment of worldly enjoyments and *mukti*[11] and so were drawn more and more towards the Śiva-Śakti cult.

The theory of evolution of *jīvas* following the free-will of the Supreme Controller of the Universe is broadly analysed to show the hierarchy of the different *Pramātas* (subjects). The pyramidal structure rises from the *Sakala* (*aṇus* or *jīvas*) to *Pralayākala* (beings

covered with the defilements of *mala* and *karma*), *Vijñānakalas* (beings without the power of action), Mantra, Mantreśa, Mantramaheśa and Śiva of the *Śuddhādhvā* stage.[12] The tree of the world shoots up from *mala* (impurity) that stands for imperfect knowledge. It is *mala* that divides the pure creation from the impure one, that of the Sadāśiva and Īśvara containing the beings called Akalas from that of the Anantanātha's impure creation.

The Tantra maintains that *mokṣa* is the unfoldment of powers brought about by self-realization. Acquiring immunity from death is not central to it. Birth and death are the phenomena of *jīva's* own creation. The complete immersion of the duality in unity is the keynote of the Tantra and is sought by the application of *mantras* and different types of *yoga*. The purification of the soul, the thirty-six *tattvas* and the role of the Śaiva teacher to purge his disciple of all impurities is underlined. It sets great store by a set of twenty-six *mudrās* and their *mantras*. Coming to rituals, the Tantra lays down a strict observance of those religious ceremonies which an aspirant is advised to perform from the time of his purificatory bath to the time when he is about to enter the sacrificial altar to offer worship. The rules for *homa* and the interpretation of good and bad dreams are outlined in the Tantra. All along in the process of initiation we are told how the disciple, the teacher and the rest of the worlds are unified in the one Ultimate Reality. The bondage of *māyā* breaks and *paśu* (individual) is *pati* (Śiva) again. The Mālinī talks of the highest stage of *ācārya*, which presupposes the acquisition of a higher mode of initiation. At this stage the formation of diagrams, *kuṇdas*, etc. otherwise an integral part of initiation, had no meaning. The *Mālinīvījayottara* and the *Svacchanda Tantras* are thus complementary, the latter being a treatise more or less on the rites and rituals of Tantricism.

The text of the *Mālinīvījayatantra* gives a detailed exposition of the Tantra when read along with *Mālinīvījayavārttika* and the *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta.[13] These two commentaries unravel most of the mysteries and esoteric practices found in the Mālinī. Connotations of several technical terms become intelligible in the *Vārttika* and the *Tantrāloka*. The thirty-six *Āhnikas* of the *Tantrāloka* discussed by Abhinavagupta with his disciples during the early tenth century were thoroughly commented upon by Rājānaka Jayaratha in his *Tantrāloka-viveka* in the twelfth century.

The original version of the *Mālinīvījayottara* seems to have been

composed by a number of *Siddhayogīs* of the *Siddha-sampradāya* who explained and elaborated the practices of *yoga* for which it was called *Siddhayogīśvarīmata*.[14] It appears that each generation of Tantric yogis incorporated the best scientific knowledge available to them through their experience. Their Tantras did not discuss social roles and interpersonal communication, nor did these offer clear-cut or comforting answers given by dogmatic theology, but gave the aspirants a practical manual for transforming their personality through physical, sexual, mental, moral efforts. Hence a comprehensive path of *yoga* and *mantras*. As most of the *yantras* and *Śrī-yantra* played a significant part in the rituals, it is likely that the major portion of the *Siddhayogīśvarīmata* was evolved in Kashmir where most of these icons were used as objects of worship till recently. The entire Himālayan belt from the western to the eastern Himalayas teemed with hundreds of Siddhas. If the tantric practices of the Bauddhas, Lāmās and others are any guide, we must look for the origin of the *Siddhayogīśvarītantra* in these regions of the Himālayas. Special figurative and symbolic terms are still in use. Women play a crucial role in Tantra. Female energy occupies the central place in Tantric imagery and no Tantrika can progress in his ritual practice without the cooperation of women. This again points to the north-eastern and western regions of the Himālayas, with their matrilineal social framework, as the home of the *Siddhayogīśvarītantra*.

The keynote of the *Svacchanda Tantra* is to realize the *Advaita-tattva* (non-duality principle). From the purely monistic school of Śaivas, it is considered as the most authentic source of *dīksā*, its chief theme being meditation (*upāsanā*) and ritual (*kriyā*). Like other Āgamas, it takes the form of a dialogue between Devī and Bhairava. Though divine authorship is ascribed to the Tantra, the dialogue of the Devī makes it clear that the original version of the *Svacchanda*, comprising one hundred crore verses, was much too big for men of the Kali age. With their very little manly vigour, energy, duration of life, acquisition, firmness, they are not in a position to study the fourfold *vidyā*, *mantras*, *maṇḍalas* and *mudrās* of the Tantra, much less to practise them. Enjoyment (*bhukti*) and liberation (*mukti*) call for the deflation of the Tantra.[15] The brāhmanical orientation and abstraction of a voluminous Tantra was thus apparently accomplished during A.D. 400-500 when *Dakṣiṇācāra* of the Śaivas was faced with grave internal threats of rival sects and an economic

crisis within its own fold. In fact, during this period of transition, a large number of Tantras seem to have been revised and abridged. This indicates a tendency towards the assimilation of other cults into the cult of Śiva-Śakti and the presence of Kumāra, Indra Lokapālas, Brahmā, Viṣṇu, Rudras, Anantabhaṭṭārakas, gaṇas, etc. before Bhairava.[16] As the daughter of Dakṣa, Sati burns herself to death when her husband is humiliated in the Dakṣaprajāpati's *yajña*.[17] This is the theme of the *Puranas*.

From the Bhairava, seated on the peak of Kailāśa and surrounded by his inner family circle, the Devī wants to know the qualities of a *guru*, *sādhaka*, the place for *mantras*, etc., *yajñas*, *homas*, *pañcagavya* (five substances of milk, ghee, etc. obtained from the cow), the food cooked for *yajña* (*caru*), *dīkṣā* and the *upāyas* of *siddhi* for the *sādhakas* in the Kali age.[18] This would suggest that the *Svacchanda Tantra* was composed somewhere in or around Tibet (Kalāpigrāma of our texts) between A.D. 400-500.[19] The initiation ceremony makes *Brāhmaṇas*, *Kṣatriyas*, *Vaiśyas* and *Sūdras* *samadharmīs* and they are called *Jaṭādhāras*. They get initiated into *bhairvajāti* (the class of Bhairavas).[20] Though the *Svacchanda* does not denounce the *Varṇa* system, it adopts a liberal attitude towards the lower classes, who together with the *sādhakas* from other castes, are born into a *bhairavajāti* where all the previous distinctions cease to operate. The coming of the Kuṣāṇas, Yavanas (Greeks), Pahlavas (Parthians), Tukhāras (Tocharians), Huṇas, etc. into Kashmir through the north-west frontier during 200 B.C.-A.D. 200 also support our view that the assimilation of these tribes into the main stream of social life must have started in the third century followed by the composition of the Tantras during the fourth-fifth century.

The work is divided into fifteen chapters (*paṭalas*) of unequal length, some being disproportionately lengthy to the rest. This would suggest that the brāhmaṇas were very anxious to elaborate portions concerned with initiation, rituals and *mantras* and paid less attention to other aspects of the Tantric lore. The dogmatic formulas receive much more attention and require the guidance of the Śaivācāryas engaged in the initiation of their disciples to the point of complete identification between the *guru* and the disciple. A few chapters give a description of charms and the *mantra-śakti*. The Tantra deals with *yoga* doctrines and the subtler and more complex emotional states. The present commentary of Kṣemarāja (c. A.D. 950-975) shows that the Tantra was freely used and

interpreted in their own way by the commentators of the dualistic and monistic schools of thought. It appears that anterior to the commentary of Kṣemarāja, called *Uddyota* there was another one known as *Vṛhat Ṭīkā* by Bhullaka Rājānaka. New trends towards *Śivādvaita* seem to have eclipsed the former commentaries, mostly running on the dualistic lines and believed to give profane meanings to hallowed sentences. The abridged *Svacchanda Tantra* formed the heart of the monistic system and epitomised all that the new recension sought to preach. This is evident from the contents and absence of harmony in the Tantra. We have the major portion of it devoted to the description of *dīkṣā* and *bhuvanas*. There are also sections which relate to dreams, the practice of black magic and charms against evil spirits. The Tantra is thus a heterogeneous compilation of various elements ranging from the description of *dhāraṇās, mudrās,* etc. to the interpretation of dreams and magic. It seems to be the composition of the Siddhas and brāhmaṇas in and around Tibet who worshipped Svacchanda Bhairava according to their five respective family traditions of *Ūrdhvāmnāya, Pūrvāmnāya, Paścimāmnāya, Dakṣiṇāmnāya* and *Vāmāmnāya,* otherwise regarded as the five faces of the Bhairava. While some strictly adhered to the ritualistic side of the worship of the Bhairava, others, well advanced in their yogic practices, took to discovering their true self through meditation and *mantra.*[21]

The *Svacchanda Tantra* is a very reliable source about the feudal tendencies of the period. The gurus are to be rewarded with the gifts of land in proportion to the means of the sadhakas, which suggests that the *ācāryas* had a rich clientele of landlords, princes, etc. Frequent references to *bali, homa,*[22] their rules and requirements provide insights into social and economic concerns of the people. The items included in the listing of these and other religious rituals reflect the economic change during the period. The sadhaka is not to think of other's riches, is to be blameless and attentive towards his *guru's* commands.[23] This constitutes the virtuous conduct of the sādhaka and his unquestioning allegiance to the *ācārya* is the bedrock of feudal structure of the age. The other *Āgama,* the *Vijñāna-bhairava* is of vital importance for the study of ritual practices and types of *dhāraṇās.* It is the earliest work referring to one hundred and twelve *dhāraṇās,* giving a brief account of each for the aspirants at their various stages of spiritual development. It is purely a manual of mystic practices in the form

of an interlocution between Bhairava and Bhairavi. It is an harmonious work, a uniform composition, all of a piece, dealing with highly organized forms of *yoga*. Abhinavagupta is evidently right in his appraisal of it as *Śivajñānopaniṣad*.[24] It describes all the traditional techniques of *yoga*, symbolic hand-gestures (*mudrās*), development of *prāṇaśakti* (life-force/bio-plasma), awakening of *kuṇḍalinī* (bio-psychic energy), *mantra-japa* (mantric recitation of sacred syllables, formulae, etc), *jñāna* (realization through understanding), *bhāvanā* (creative contemplation), etc. It is clear that it reflects the attainments of *yogīs* who had specialised in different *dhāraṇās*.[25] The transformation of human consciousness was a continuous process of experience and experimentation, spread over a considerable period of time. To educate and initiate the sādhakas into Bhairava cult, a band of brāhmaṇas, learned in Tantric lore, seems to have composed the *Vijñānabhairava* which provided a convenient vehicle for instruction. Originally supposed to be a part of the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*,[26] the *Vijñāna-bhairava* provided a condensed manual for the practitioners in yoga. The complete text of the *Rudrayāmala* though not extant, is claimed to be the source of the present *Āgama* and appears to have been composed by the *Śāktas* who taught the tantra about the union of *Śakti* with *Śiva*, and also the essence of all the grades of *Śakti*. The *Trika* (along with its sub-divisions), which is the quintessence of all the scriptures and expounds the monistic theory of Śaivism forms an integral part of the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*.[27] The present *Vijñānabhairava* had thus an earlier *Āgama* version, now available in fragments only. *Rudrayāmala* indicates the tendency of absorbing Rudra in the *Śākta* cult, connoting the union of Rudra and his Śakti, i.e. *Prakāśa* and *vimarśa*.[28] This is the running theme of the *Vijñānabhairava*.

The earliest reference to the *Vijñānabhairava* is found in Vāmanātha's *Advayasampatti-Vārttikā*. This literary piece of evidence establishes it clearly that the *Vijñānabhairava* must have existed at about A.D. 750 when Jayapīḍa ruled over Kashmir and had Vāmana as one of his minister.[29] If this Vāmana, an authority on poetics, is the same Vāmanath, it is certain that the Āgama was very popular in the eighth century when the Nāga-Kārkotas were the rulers of Kashmir. It seems that the Bhairava cult was one of the most powerful cults during the Karkota period and the fusion of the Nāgas and brahmanas was achieved by recognizing *Śakti* as the

motive power in the supreme *tattva* and the *sādhanās* of *Jñāna-Yoga*. The detailed treatment of various śaktis and the concept of *Śūnya* suggests that the *Śāktas* had accomplished a fair degree of success in refuting the arguments of the Bauddhas through the brāhmaṇical orientation of a Bhairava-Āgama with a bias towards *Śakti*.[30] This seems to be confirmed by Hiuen Tsiang[31] who says "at the present time this kingdom is not much given to the faith and the temples of the heretics are their sole thought." Hence at the time of the composition of the *Vijñānabhairava*, *Bhairava* was already recognized as Rudrayāmala (the union of Rudra with his Śakti) and must have been compiled between the fourth and the fifth century A.D. This is the most probable date of the first appearance of the *Vijñānabhairava*.

The icons at Harvan and other towns environed by forests reveal that a large number of *Siddhas*, *Vīras* and *Vīra-Yoginīs* lived at the foothills of the Himālayas. Their yogic postures indicate the mystic practices of *Yoga*. The art motifs clearly hint at the Tantric rituals, and a fairly good number of terracotta pieces[32] show the sexual intercourse of couples, which, it seems, must have been one of the *dhāraṇās* for experiencing the delight of unity-consciousness. *Vijñānabhairava* clearly suggests how at the time of sexual intercourse with a woman, an absorption is brought into her and the final delight that ensues at orgasm betokens the delight of Brahman.[33] This idea is extended to the animal world and there too the erotic scenes of birds and animals figure largely on terracotta pieces. The *Śaktas* of Kashmir seem to have been very familiar with all the 112 *dhāraṇās*. They seem to have produced several works on yogic practices. We may state that the conversion of these practices into a Tantric manual, was intended to perpetuate these mystic practices through a handbook, which, while not very comprehensive, could serve as a useful medium for the guidance of the advanced aspirants.

The *Śiva-Sūtras*, described as *Śivarahasya Āgama*,[34] form a very important source for the study of social ideas and institutions, for it is the basis of the commentaries written by Bhāskara, Kṣemerāja, Varadarāja, etc.,[35] which were widely read and studied by Śaivas in Kashmir. The history of the *Śiva-Śūtras* has a great significance for the study of the various traditional schools and their teachings and the characteristic features of the esoteric teachings of the reality of the self transmitted from one teacher to another called *rahasya-*

sampradāya. The *Mahādevagiri* legend narrates that once Param Siva observed the world immersed in darkness and lest the philosophy of dualism should obscure the teachings of *rahasya-sampradāya* manifested Himself to Vasugupta in his dream while he was residing in a hermitage below the Mahādeva peak. He disclosed to him the secret of the intuitional science (*rahasyam*), which he was told he would find inscribed on a rock. The great sage obtained these *Śivopanisat Sūtras* on that great rock that had turned upwards by a mere touch of his hand.[36] Having grasped these *sutras* well, Vasugupta taught them to his worthy disciples in conformity with the *guru-śiṣya* tradition. According to another version the *Sūtras* were composed by Śiva Himself but taught to Vasugupta in a dream by a Siddha. Both Kṣemarāja and Bhāskara want to show that there was no human author of the *Sūtras*, regarded as *Śivopaniṣat-Saṃgraha* (a compendium of the secret doctrines revealed by Śiva).

The Mahādevagiri legend discloses certain facts. One, the Siddhas had their hermitages on the Mahādeva peak where there possibly existed the hermitages of other Siddhas of the Pārameśvara Sampradāya, Yoginīs and Bauddhācāryas. The Himālayas, being the chief adode of Śiva, have thus come to acquire a religious sanctity. In the present case the place of revelation is Mahādevagiri in Kashmir. Two, the legend suggests in no ambiguous terms that the *Śiva-Sūtras* were composed by a Siddha in the valley itself. Both the versions of Kṣemarāja and Bhāskara make it clear that Vasugupta was chosen as an accomplished Siddha to disseminate the spiritual knowledge of Advaita amongst his disciples. Perhaps there was no other Siddha in the Trika *Sampradāya* to refute the commands (*ādeśas*) of Nāgabodhi and other Siddhas, as Vasugupta, who had made himself pure in the *Pārameśvara sampradāya*. His deep spiritual insight and *vimarśa* in the unity of godhead had qualified him to receive the divine grace (*śaktipāta*). Whether it was Param Śiva or a Siddha that revealed the *Śiva-Sūtras*, the fact remains that it was Vasugupta, who was chosen as the most suitable medium to communicate these *Sūtras*. The *Śiva-Sūtras* formed the heart of the Śiva-Advaita doctrine which was the keystone of the whole Āgama literature. It epitomised all that the *Sūtras* sought to preach and perhaps even their structural plan seems to have been remodelled to challenge the doctrines of the lower grade *darśanas*. The *Śivopaniṣat*, as these

Sūtras have been called, is the work of a religious and social renewal, and the work of one Siddha, who belonged to the Tryambaka system. If the possibility of human authorship is not ruled out, the complete silence of Bhāskara about the name of the Siddha appearing in a dream to Vasugupta, strongly suggests that these *Sūtras* were composed by Vasugupta himself who had vanquished his opponents by his arguments. He got these inscribed on a rock and taught them to his disciples Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and others. The motive behind this was to educate and initiate his disciples into the esoteric traditional teaching for which the inscription provided a very suitable medium of instruction. It seems plausible to hold that Śaivas could never countenance an Āgama of human as opposed to divine authorship. It is probable that for this reason a fresh revelation was claimed for Vasugupta.

The problem of the date of the *Sūtras* could be solved with reference to his disciple Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa who flourished in the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883).[38] His preceptor, the Siddha Vasugupta must have lived in the first quarter of the eighth century which was also the time of the composition of these *Sutras*. Another indirect evidence leads us to the same conclusion. We are told that he did not accept the teachings of Nāgabodhi and other Siddhas as their system seems to have clearly ruled out the existence of Universal Consciousness being opposed to the final stage of *Bodhicitta* and then the Transcendental self. Nāgabodhi was a Buddhist Ācārya who wrote *Śri Guhyasamāja maṇḍalopayika-vinisavidhi* which is based on 'Guhya-Samāja' a Buddhist Tantra. According to Alex Wayman, *Guhyasamāja* was written in about the fourth century A.D. and Nāgabodhi may have utilized this book in about A.D. 600/700.[39] The evidence adduced here also points to a date in the late Kārkoṭa age. The nature of the doctrines in the *Śiva-Sūtras* shows that they belong to a class quite apart from the extreme forms of the sect like the Kāpālika and Kālamukha. Bhandarkar is right in maintaining that these do not come under the Lakula or Pāsupata group, much older in point of date.[40]

We might conclude from the Śivasūtra-Mahādevagiri legend that Vasugupta brought a new "revelation", which he declared he had received directly from Śiva or a Siddha. The myth of the "transmission of the doctrine" was well known. In the Āgamas it is often represented by the initiatory dialogue between Bhairava and Devī. The name Vasugupta could be interpreted as derived from

Vasu—one of the names of Śiva, applied to a person who should keep the doctrine *gupta*—'secret', especially to those *Siddhayogins* who had attained perfection and could initiate others. The myth obviously states the sequence of the transmission of the doctrine: Śiva/Siddha, Vasugupta.

The *Devī-Rahasya* forms another important source, but its date is very uncertain. It is traditionally believed to form part of the *Rudrayāmala Tantra*. Though the words at the end of each chapter (*Puṣpikā*) say that what has been stated therein is the subject-matter of *Rudrayamala*, the introductory verses of the first chapter suggest that the *Devī-Rahasya* does not form a portion of the recognized Tantras, but constitutes a part of some *Parādvaita-śāstra*. Its main theme seems to be to elucidate the secret worship of the Devī Tripurā. Written in the form of a dialogue between Bhairava and Devī, it describes the several names of the goddess, their mode of worship and the mantras associated with their names. The *Pūrvāradha* section has twenty-five *paṭalas* or chapters devoted to the description of initiation, incantations of the goddess, Śiva and Viṣṇu, laying open for practice of incantations (*utkelana*), energising mantras, removing curses from incantations, mental recitation (*pārāyana)*, use of *bījas* (root-syllables) in *mantras*, preliminary practice of mantras and sacrifices made thereto, mystical diagrams, bearing of amulets, sage, metre, etc. of incantation, worship at crematoriums, purification of the articles of worship, ritualistic methods of taking wine, peace prayers and hymns of the Śakta heroes, purification of wine, purification of the maiden, types of rosaries and their purification and purification of diagrams. This section appears well conversant with the Tantric terminology and provides detailed instructions for *japa* and *mantras*, the wearing of amulets and the drawing of mystical diagrams supposed to possess occult powers. The latter half (*uttarārdha*) called *Rahasyavijaya*, mentions the practices for Kaulikas (followers of the left-hand Śākta ritual). The thirty-five chapters included in this section embody the *Pañcarigas*—*Patala, Kavaca, Paddhati, Sahsranāma* and *Stotras* of Gaṇeśa, Sūrya, Lakṣmīnārāyana, Śiva and Durgā. The non-Aryan aspect of the Devī is emphasized by such names as Mahāśyāmā, Mahā-tripurasundarī, etc. She is also addressed as Lakṣmī, Durgā, Ugradurgā, the five-lettered Gāyatrī of the gods. She is *parā*.[41] This points to the disposition of various strands in the worship of the goddess

and the fusion of Aryan and non-Aryan elements. The Tantra contains five chapters on the worship of Gaṇapati,[42] later known as Gaṇeśa who was not given a place in the brāhmaṇical pantheon prior to the first century A.D.[43] The images of this god cannot be dated earlier than the early Gupta period.[44] The occurrence of the names of Tārā, Chhinamastā, etc. suggests that the Vajrayāna Buddhism had made its impact on the Kaulas. Bhairavī considers herself as the female servant (*kiṃkarī*) of Śiva and worthy of his protection.[45] The introduction of a feudal complex and the revision and enlargement of the brahmanical scriptures in the post-Christian period suggests that the probable period of the composition of the *Devī-Rahasya* was seventh to ninth century of the Gupta era. We know that Śri Lakṣmī came to be installed by the side of Nārayāna in the Gupta period and the incantation of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa mantras, Lakṣmīnṛsiṃha-mantra, Lakṣmīvarāha mantras must have developed during the same period. The appendix (*pariśiṣṭha*) and the *Uddhārakoṣa* put in the mouth of the sage Dakṣiṇāmūrti are later interpolations by those brāhmaṇas who were eager to accommodate their deities/other goddesses like Jvalāmukhī, Śarīkā, Maharājñī, Śāradā, Bhīdā and Bālā. The view of Kaula[46] that the composition of the *Devīrahasya* must have taken place, at least in its present form, long after the advent of the Mohammadan and Europeans in India, is quite untenable, for the Tantra uses the word *phirangha* in the sense of 'curing the disease of syphilis' and *bilvasena* in the same context refers to a kind of delicious fruit, which, when unripe, is used medicinally.[47] We may note that 'Shafaq or Shahak'[48] too seems to refer to some disease. The chapter here mentions the thousand names of Durgā and may have borrowed the name *phirañga* disease from the Greeks just as some of the presiding deities of the week days have been borrowed from them.[49]

The *Devī-Rahasya* may be stratified into three distinct strata. The *Pūrvāradha* with its *kulakrama* (the procedure of Kaulas) seems to have evolved between the seventh to the eighth century when the *Kuleśas* (chiefs of the family) received their adoration from their worshippers, *Paripālakas* (guardians of property), *Yatis* and *Yogis*.[50] The *Uttarārddha* with its *Gaṇeśa-Pañcāṅgas*, (five modes of devotion, viz. silent prayer, oblations, libations, bathing idols and feeding *brāhmanas*), *Sūryapañcāṅga*, *Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa-Pañcāṅga*, etc. shifts its emphasis and educates and initiates the masses into brāhmaṇical

laws of social and religious morality for which the composition of *Devī-rahasya* served a very useful purpose. The introduction of more rituals was not a casual affair. The redactors of the *Devi-rahasya* intended to safeguard their material gains by means of other Tantric rituals.[51] The period between the eighth to the ninth century was one of great stress, following the ambitious policies and financial burdens of Kārkoṭas and their successors, the Utpalas. Kaulikas and Vaiṣṇavas are instructed not to make any discrimination in the worship of Śiva and Śyāmā goddesses. Almost all *stavas* (songs of praise), including the *Lakṣmī-nārāyaṇastava* are claimed to be mysterious and are regarded as the essence of the Vedas and Tantras.[52] These are not to be disclosed or made public or communicated to the 'unworthy' but only to those that are liberal, devoted and steadfast in Kaulamārga.[53] The brāhmaṇas preached the brāhmaṇical rules of social ethics through the popular cults of mother-worship and adopted a liberal attitude towards the lower classes. The *Pariśiṣṭha* and *Uddhārakoṣa* are very late additions and seem to have been made by brāhmaṇas who lived in remote hilly regions and revived the family goddesses of Bhuvanesvari, Bīḍā, Bālā, etc. The date of these chapters may range from the last quarter of the tenth to the eleventh century A.D. Bagchi is of the opinion that the eight *yamalas* and their supplements, all originated in Northern India.[54] The frequent references to *Mahācīna krama*[55] suggests that the Tantric practices were spread over a vast area of northern India and it is likely that most of these practices must have originated somewhere in Tibet and Mongolia and proliferated to north-eastern India and Kashmir. It appears that most of these practices were observed by the brāhmaṇas during this period. Faced with the threat of *Kaliyuga*[56] and the dominance of *Mlecchas*, the local priestly class seems to have compiled the different sections of the *Devī-rahasya* from the seventh to the eleventh century A.D.

Parātrimśikā or *Parātriśikā* analyses the concept of the identity of Śiva-Śakti which is the subject matter of the *Rudra-Yāmala Tantra* or the Tantra about the Union of Rudra and Rudrānī. Bhairavi, as an interlocutor, desires to be enlightened on the significance of the All-Transcendent word which enables one to acquire self-knowledge and thereby be united with the Omniscient self. In reply Bhairava relates the source of the creation of the Universe as based on the Mātṛkās, *a* being the All Transcendent Param Śiva and *ka* the Śakti,

one being the *bīja* and the other the *yoni*, which, in essence, points to inseparability or oneness of Śiva-Śakti. The coalition of fifteen vowels with *visarga* is known as the pure light of intelligence, i.e. *Śiva tattva* (*Citt*) which constitutes the life (*prāṇa*) in the Universal seed. The consonants, proceeding from the vowels and being inseparable from them, constitute the *Śakti-tattva*, which is really the Universe as a potentiality. The twenty-five *tattvas* from the earth (*Pṛthvī*) to the spirit (*Puruṣa*) have their origin in the twenty-five consonants from *ka* to *ma*, the four *tattvas* of limitation in regard to interest (*rāga*), limited knowledge (*vidyā*), the power of limited creation (*kalā*), the generally limiting power (*māyā*) proceed in order from *ya, na, la* and *ya*. Mahāmāyā Śuddha Vidyā, Īśvara, Sadāśiva and Śakti are represented by *sa, sam, sa, ha, kṣa*.

The word *aham* formed by the letters *a, ha* and *m* is the epithet of Aghora, the Omniscient one, the essence of Parāvāk, the meditation of which drives away all impurities, leading ultimately to the recognition of one's self as Param Śiva. The Āgama of about thirty verses recognises all the three ways of action (*karma*), devotion (*bhakti*), and knowledge (*jñāna*) as the means for the attainment of *ātma-bodha*. Religious rites and ceremonies and initiations are not essential for a *sādhaka* who has overcome finiteness through his meditation on *aham*. Caste and sex are no barriers to self-realization for the individual is identical with the supreme self and Śiva-Śakti disport here in the same way as the *jīva* does on the Cosmic level. Not only does the *Āgama* bear on the Cosmogony of the microcosm and the macrocosm, the evolution of which proceeds on identical lines, but also suggests by implication, like the union of Param Śiva, the *Bindu* with the *Parāśakti*, the Nāda, the union of the *vīra* with the yogini and the attainment of *kauliki-siddhi* (perfection attained through the *kula* path). In fact, the *Parātriṃśikā* is a resume of the *vīrayoginī-sampradāya* in which the use of sex, though in a consecrated form, occupied an important place and points to the *samarasībhāva* (the state of *abheda*) attained through *khecarīsāmya* (the state of perfect bliss).

The contents of the *Āgama* show that it was an advanced practice confined to the *Vīrayoginīs* who, it appears, were the non-Vedic people, well conversant with sexology as to attain supreme bliss through coitus, and must have, in due course of time, transformed it into a ritual in their yogic practices. Later, it was employed in the Śaiva cult as a sure measure of attaining and realizing one's true

nature of Śivahood.[57] The sexual activity of the *Vīrayoginīs* points to the period of the fertility rites which probably seem to have been well developed in the first-second century of the Christian era. This points to a very primitive custom of acquiring wives or *yoginīs* by the *vīras* for themselves from the other tribes. These tribes must have later on lived together in close contact to have identified their deities completely as to evolve the concept of Śiva-Śakti through the removal of antagonism by means of *kaulika-siddhi*, which appears to have been a developed form of *vīras'* amorous alliance with the *yoginīs*. The exigencies of this period of their nomadic life required a greater freedom of sexes in the tribe, and the god they conceived of was Rudrayāmala, youthful and ever happy in the close embrace of Rudrāṇī. The recognition of the sexual urge as a great reproducing force both at the cosmic and individual level shows the early development of tribal loyalties/customs.

The *Tantrāloka* of Abhinavagupta (c. A.D. 915-1009) in its thirty-seven *Āhnikas* gives a lucid exposition of the All-Conscious entity called Param Śiva, detailing the two important aspects of *Jñānādhikāra* (philosophical aspect) and *kriyādhikāra* (propitiation aspect). This magnum opus, covering thirty-seven discourses of the Ācārya was, in fact, set to writing at the entreaty of his brother, cousins and other disciples, to explain the esotericism of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*. As both philosophy and propitiation (*sādhanā*) were intermingled in the Āgamas (including the *Mālinī*) and the Buddhist rationalism was too strong to be easily refuted, the necessity of separate exposition of philosophical and propitiation aspects seems to have been felt by the Śaivācāryas. Abhinavagupta's *Tantraloka* examines the *Kula* and *Trika* systems, along with other systems, in minute details. Both the *Mālinīvijayottara Vārttika* and the *Tantrāloka* are the commentaries on the Trika doctrines and *Sādhanā* as contained in the original Āgama—*Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*. Abhinavagupta continued the tradition of his *gurus* who transmitted the Tantric lore orally to their disciples through *dīkṣā* (initiation). It appears that by the time of Abhinavagupta the contents of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* had become unintelligible due to their abstruse terms, its aphoristic style and the secret of its incantations being beyond the comprehension of lay disciples. All the four means of realizing the absolute sovereignty of the self, the five facets of godhead, six paths of entering into the fire and infinite domain of the *samvit* (cosmic

consciousness). The external manifestation of the universal consciousness in the form of thirty-six *tattvas*, the extent and scope of divine grace, the importance of five *prāṇas* with respect to Śaiva Yoga, matters pertaining to *dīkṣā* and its kinds have been fully explained.[58] The *Tantrāloka* may, therefore, be regarded as a companion volume to *Mālinī* to expound the essence of *Śaiva Yoga, Vāmācarā, Vīrayoginī sampradāya* etc. To a *sādhaka* most of the Tantric ritualism and *yoga* practices to attain proficiency in Śaiva Yoga would have remained a mystery without the *Tantrāloka*. This source-material, though of a later time-bracket of as late as the tenth century, provides important clues and gives an insight into the *Āgamas*, here chiefly the *Mālinī* which has survived as the sole manual of Trika doctrines.[59] Jayaratha, in his *Viveka* of *Tantrāloka*[60] states in unambiguous terms, that the theory and practice of Śaivāgamas, becomes intelligible only through constant exertion and practice under a *guru*, as the very nature of the Āgamas suggests that these are not theoretical manuals to be committed to memory but are basically action-oriented, the *Siddhātantra* being principally *Kriyā-Pradhāna* (spiritual practice oriented) Nāmaka *Jñāna*-oriented (*Jñāna-Pradhāna*) and the *Mālinī* the essence of the two. It is the command of a *gurunātha* alone that can initiate a sādhaka into the secrets of the Āgamas, not otherwise.

Abhinavagupta strikes the keynote of the *Mālinī* in explaining how Param Śiva is endowed with Śakti which is inseparable from Himself by virtue of which He is described as the *Pūrṇāhantā* (*Pūrṇasvabhāva*). He being the repository of the twelve *Śaktis* (in fact these being but one *Svātantrya-Śakti*). Those of the *upāsakas* as stay in this twelve-fold *cakra* are one with Param Śiva[61] Śakti is thus the hall-mark of the external manifestation of the Free-Will of the Lord. This obliterates the superficial distinction between *Śāktism* and Saivism. In fact, it is the *Citt-Śakti* of the Lord that is really spiritual in essence like the Lord Himself. This underscores the importance of Śakti as an immanent principle and *Śāktopāya* as one of the means of self-realization. The *Samsiddhikas* (*accomplished souls*) owe their *Śiva-bhāva* to their initiation by divine Mothers who transform their sense-organs into divine energies through their introspection rather than by formal initiation at the hands of a *guru* or the injunctions of *Śāstras* (scriptures).[62] Abhinavagupta further elucidates similar concepts in the commentary parts of *Parātriśikā*.[63]

The *Netratantra* comprises twenty-two chapters (*adhikāras*) and

falls under the classification of *āmnāyas* which is a more common classification than the *śrotas* (current traditions) and *pīṭhas*.[64] This Tantra seems to have been written on the analogy of the *Svacchandatantra* and so is far posterior to it. Put in the form of a dialogue between Pārvatī and Lord Bhairava, the Tantra elaborates the mode of initiation (*dīkṣā*) relative to Śiva in the name of Amriteśvara or Mṛtyujinnātha. The Āgama receives its name because of the peculiar importance of the deity and incantation to him like the eyes in the human organism.[65] It sets forth the philosophy of the eyes of Śiva in His embodied form. The Āgama has a Purāṇic setting in which the god of love is reduced to ashes by the third eye of the Lord, the other two performing the functions of protection and destruction. It appears that the Tantra was composed in the Gupta period and the theory of creation formed an important part in it, Bhairava and Bhairavī being the progenitors of the human race. The Tantra, like the most striking theme of creation in the Purāṇas, states how Bhairava, the one *Cinnmaya* (consciousness) incarnates Himself in the form of Brahmā, Viṣṇu and Rudra for the purpose of creation, etc.[66] His innate, pure, and all-pervasive nature is enshrined in the hearts of all beings to whom He is accessible only through the realisation of unity in diversity. His will is *Parāśakti* and He manifests Himself through knowledge and action (*Jñāna-śakti* and *kriyā-śakti*).[67] His eyes symbolise the three centres of the physical light commonly known as the sun, the moon and the fire. The same eyes can protect and destroy or favour and frown.[68] It is thus a *dvaitādvaita* (unity in diversity) Āgama. Like the other mantra-oriented Tantras, it gives a mystic statement of the *Amriteśvara mantra* and provides for the method of offering sacrifices. Initiation into the worship of the deity, the anointing ceremony, worship according to the *Uttarāmnāya* and the *Kulāmnāya*, the eligibility of all human beings to tantric worship, are other subjects of the Tantra. The offering of sesamum, milk, clarified butter and candy in *homa* (offering oblation to fire) for the purpose of Mahāśānti[69] is significant as it suggests that this form of ritual was most popular with non-Vedic people. The description of the attendants of the deity by whom He is surrounded suggests a feudal complex which was strongly entrenched in the Gupta period. Param Śiva who is depicted as seated on the peak of the Himālayas in the form of Umapati in the company of his consort Parvatī indicates that the Āgama was set to writing somewhere in

the Himālayan regions, probably in Kashmir. He is shown engaged in the activity of the making of the Universe in the company of his *gaṇas* and described as Lokanātha to extend his grace to the people.[70] The element of protection against the evil forces stands prominently and the *bhakti* of Pārvatī is rewarded by her Lord. This reveals the role of tribal deities who later on developed into powerful deities to show their grace and favour to their devotees. The deity, here called Mrtyujit, gives *mokṣa* to all and relieves them of their distress.[71] It appears that merely literary criterion is not sufficient for the stratification of the *Netra Tantra*. Vocabulary and other linguistic features do not differentiate it much from the *Svacchanda Tantra*. But the subject of rituals, a great love of Purāṇic legends as also the doctrine of *bhakti* and protection set it apart. Mṛtyujit assumes a characteristic feudal complexion and plays the role of a protector and saviour rather than the *beau ideal* to which the devotees could look for their own liberation. The *adhikāras* which give some forms of the deity, his attendants and worship according to the *Uttarāmnāya* and the *Kulāmnāya*, the supremacy of its *mantras* over other *mantras* and their protective efficacy seem to have been developed in the later Gupta period to approximate to the growing needs of a feudal organisation determined to monopolise political power through their dominance in religious life of the people.

On the basis of the classification of the Tantras made by Abhinavagupta (*Tantrāloka*) the Āgamas are classified under three heads—Śiva, Rudra and Bhairava. The *Mṛgendra* comes under the category of the dualistic class called Rudragamas, as opposed to the Bhairavagamas, which refer to the adoration of the supreme being both monistically and dualistically. According to the Pāśupata system of this Tantra, the relation between the creator and the created is that of the sheep and the shepherd. The *paśu* when freed from its fetters reaches the creator but is not merged with Him. The *Mṛgendra*, according to the Āgamic tradition, is said to have streamed forth from the upper face of Svacchanda Bhairava. This scripture offers adoration to Paśupati as the universal consciousness under the name of Īśa or Īśāna. The introduction to the *Mṛgendra Tantra* reveals an attempt to reconcile the Śivaistic doctrine and ritualism with those of the Vedic ones.

The Tantra in its present form has come to us with the commentary of Nārāyaṇa Kaṇṭha, who was a near contemporary of Utpaladeva (c. A.D. 9th century). He quotes a verse from the *Īśvara-*

Siddhi of Utpaladeva (stanza 55), which suggests that he must have lived in the second quarter of the ninth century latest. His father Vidyā Kaṇṭha and grandfather Śaṅkara Kaṇṭha were learned Śaiva scholars. A Kashmiri Śaiva poet, who flourished towards the beginning of the ninth century, refers to certain surgical practices which indicate that he must have been a successful physician too. The Tantric text recovered from some Paṇḍits of Kashmir is available in two sections only, viz. the first and the last (*Vidyāpāda* and *Yogapāda*). It seems that the other sections, namely, *Kriyā* and *Caryā*, have either been lost or seem to have become obsolete by the time of Nārāyaṇa Kaṇṭha. The introduction to the text seems to be late compared to other sections; its vocabulary is rich and it abounds in poetic imagery. Similarly, references to the frequent use of surgical instruments in performing operations hints at this portion having been composed in the age of Suśruta, Caraka, etc.[72] The Śivaistic cult depicted in the Tantra reflects the view of life known in the early centuries of the Christian era. The evolution of the Āgama falls between the first-second centuries and fifth-sixth centuries when the Śrautas had to undergo a long struggle to rationalize the worship of the personified God. This suggestion is also supported by the fact that the Tantra was written in the form of a dialogue between Hārita and his disciples.

The *Mṛgendra* is an abridgement of the *Kāmika Tantra*. Indra received the doctrine of *Kamikagama* while he was wearing the armour in the shape of a lion. This would suggest that the *Kāmikāgama* was a tantra of those tribal people who meditated on the glory of Śiva as His devotees clad in an armour of Narasiṃha. The long period of meditation of a thousand years' duration in the case of Indra indicates that the purificatory rites must have been very arduous and trying. It also points out to an order of ascetics whose worship of Paśupati in his natural surroundings was most familiar. The Vedic rites found little favour with these ascetics who had their hermitages planted in Kailāśa (Badrī-Nārāyaṇa). Obviously the Himālayan belt seems to have been dotted about by such hermitages where the tantric *sādhanā* and ritual was most popular. The Vedic god Indra, according to the Mṛgendra legend, was initiated into the Tantric lore only when he had atoned for his murderous act of killing the demon Vṛtra. This would suggest that the Vedic practice had to conform itself to the tantric practices, which had a firm strong-hold in Kashmir, Nepal, Bengal, Assam,

etc. So brāhmaṇism had to compromise in the peripheral areas where the majority of the people had a long, unbroken tradition of Tantric sadhana and rituals.

The Tantra manuscripts were prepared in Kashmir well before the Muslim invasions of north-western India, and could not have been imports from China. The *Mṛgendra* seems to have been composed in Kashmir from about the second-third centuries to the fifth-sixth centuries when the brāhmaṇas and the brāhmaṇized Buddhist monks came into wide contact with the tribal people of the valley. They discussed Sāṃkhya philosophy, Nyāya's conception of *Mukti* and Buddhist conception of *nirvāṇa*. From Kashmir the Tāntric texts, especially the *Bhairavāgamas* and *Rudrāgamas*, may have been taken to the South and a few may have found their way to China and Tibet. Almost all the commentaries of the Tāntras discuss the Buddhist logic thoroughly and examine their concepts critically. A corpus of Tāntric literature was produced in the post-Mauryan period when the brāhmaṇas who had influenced Nāgas and their religious beliefs had absorbed their rituals and transformed their tribal deities into Śiva-Śakti around whom they evolved their concept of a Universal and immanent Śiva. Other brāhmaṇas seem to have been influenced by Tāntric Buddhism, the Vajrayānī complex. In either case the beliefs and rituals centred either around the Buddha or Rudra.

In the *Śaivāgamas*, in spite of the variety of dualistic and monistic thought, there is a general impression of homogeneity. The main theme of tāntric *Sādhanā* (realization) and rituals forms the essence of all the Āgamas, which would have to be placed at the latest in the first half of the fourth-fifth century A.D. That the whole of the Āgama literature: the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra, Svacchanda Tantra, Netra Tantra,* does not belong to the same stratum follows clearly from the fact that the first Tantra had an earlier version (*Pūrva-mālinī*), the second has portions of philosophy, rituals and magic assorted together and the last one contains philosophy and Pūrāṇic myths.[73] It appears thus possible that the entire literature of the Bhairavāgamas did not exist in the second-fourth century, which appears to be the earliest chronological sequence of the *Svacchanda*, the *Mṛgendra* and *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*. On the other, it is probable that by the time of the composition of the *Śivasūtras* in the sixth-seventh centuries, most of the Āgamas had been composed. Stylistic and doctrinal consideration suggest that the greater part of

the Śaivāgamas existed prior to the composition of Vasugupta's *Śivasūtras*. Pandey's assertion that Tantricism was not introduced into Kashmir until the eighth century and that its literature flourished there from the tenth century [74] is not supported by the internal evidence of the Āgamas. There appears to be no justification either in ascribing divine authorship [75] or antiquity to the Āgamas when they clearly reflect the social attitudes of the Śaivas and Buddhists in respect of their fundamental doctrines. Formal treatises on particular subjects in the Tantras might have been written in later times, though the subject matter might have been known from the earliest time of human civilisation.[76] Āgamas were meant to meet the need of souls at different stages of religious development.[77] The tāntric practices seem to have been prevalent and common in the valley from a very early period. Asoka's son and successor Jalauka is credited with transforming base metals into gold, arresting the waters of the lakes, his noble queen Īśāna-devī placing circles sacred to the mothers (*mātṛcakra*), Nāgas flying through the air, the preparation of sacred diagrams (*Yantra*) for building towns, Siddhas moving through the air, and Mihirakula's self-immolation, etc. These practices cannot be disregarded as mere legends without any substance of truth in them.[78] It seems that Mihirākula was made to atone for his sins and misdeeds by his last ritual of placing his corpse on a bier studded with razors.[79]

The Āgamas provide useful data on the social structure of the period which is so intimately connected with the personality of the Śaivas who worked for a synthesis of the tāntric Buddhists and Śiva-Śakti worshippers. The bulk of the Śaivāgamas, especially the major portions of the *Mālinī*, the *Svacchanda* belong to the pre-Gupta period. The Āgama texts have the appearance of standing close to a living language rather than that of an artificial production in a dead language. They would thus seem to belong to the period when the language flourished. We feel that the Āgamas belong roughly to the chronological strata, extending from the second to the eighth century. This is so because of the internal unity of the texts demonstrable through the material contained in them. The material contained in the *Śaivāgamas*, *Rudrāgamas*, and *Bhairavāgamas* and the pre-tenth century portions of the *Devīrahasya* reflects the condition of the period roughly between the second to the eighth century. Some of the Āgamas contain very old rituals, but generally they represent an extensive period of development from

the time of Mahāyāna Buddhism down to the sixth or eighth century A.D. The geographical background of our Āgamas (numbering sixty-four) shows clearly that they are considerably older than the *Śivasūtras* and that the civilisation which they reflect is appreciably different from that reflected in the twenty-eight Agamas of the South. Here Śakti, the "cosmic force", is raised to the rank of a Divine Mother who sustains not only the Universe but also initiates the advanced souls into liberation. Here then we recognize the "religion of the Mother" that in ancient times covered an immense Aegeo-Afrasiatic territory and was the chief form of devotion among the autochthonous people of the valley. And this indicates an irresistible advance of tantrism and victory of the non-Vedic popular strata. Though the worship of the Mother goddesses in its own independent form dates back from remote antiquity, it seems that the fusion of the Vedic and non-Vedic people gradually synthesized the male and female principles into one of the universal consciousness in the Trika system wherein Śiva, through his Śakti, enacts the divine drama of involution and evolution, which is taken to be a mechanical process of creation and destruction mounted upon the wheel of the world like a *ghaṭayantra* (the potter's wheel).[80]

Our sources consist of a mass of literary material which is mainly religious in character. There are hardly any popular records which may indicate the popular view of the tāntric *sādhanā* and ritual. The Āgamas contain the type of ritualism and *dhāraṇās*, which the priestly class wished to promulgate. Nevertheless, sacrifices and *homa*, the drawing of *yantras* and magical circles (*mātṛcakra*) etc. reflect the practices of the worshippers of Śiva-Śakti and provide us a popular origin of most of their rituals which are not always brāhmaṇical fabrications. Archaeological sources and the growing variety of iconographic forms in the later period of eighth-ninth century denotes the growth and complexity in tāntrism working for a synthesis of the tāntric Buddhism and Śaivism. There are not any inscriptions even of a votive nature. But a study of the legends and motifs found on the coins of this period is quite fruitful in illustrating the religious inclinations of the issuing authority and determining the geographical extent of tantrism. The symbols appearing on the coins are generally of a religious nature and a few of them depict tribal or family emblems as well. A few sculptural and glyptic findings and their find-spots

indicate the prevalence of tantrism in that area. Thus the importance of numismatic and iconic evidence cannot be under-rated in the face of positive epigraphic evidence which is absolutely lacking.

A small scale excavation at Semthan (district Anantnag), 1977-83, reveals certain interesting facts about the pre-NBP, NBPW and the Indo Greek cultures, starting from the middle of the first millennium B.C. upto the late mediaeval times. Some of the important antiquities include terracotta figurines and coins. A seated figure, with folded feet and dressed in a typical Central Asian style gives us the impression of a *Vīrayogin* in a state of ecstasy. A well proportioned miniature figure of a male standing almost naked on a pedestal, his left hand placed on the waist and the right one raised up, holding something, suggests that it must have been an initiate admitted into the order of *Vīra-Yoginī Sampradāya.* Such terracottas and numerous other copper coins corroborate the literary evidence of the Āgamas with regard to its *Sādhanā* aspect during the Kuṣāṇa-Huṇa period (c. first century to fifth century A. D.). The very nature of the total cultural milieu of this period points to the interaction of the Buddhist and Sivaistic ideas, rituals and practices.

NOTES

1. Winternitz, *HIL,* Vol. I, p. 604.
2. *An Introduction to Buddhist Esoterism,* p. 48; *Sādhanamālā,* I, XVI - XVII.
3. see *IPVV.*
4. 8-10. According to another reading, it consisted of one hundred crore verses (*Tantrāloka,* IX, p. 7).
5. 13-14.
6. 10-11.
7. 3-4.
8. *Patañjali*, V. 3. 99; *Mbh* (*Skandotpattiparvādhyāya* in *Vanaparva*).
9. *B.M. Cat.* (P. Gardner), pp. 138, 149, 150, plates XXVII, 16; XXVIII, 23-24; Ep. Ind., Vol. XXX, pp. 59 ff (D.C. Sircar).
10. *Ma. Vi. Tan,* I, 10-11.
11. *Ibid.,* I, 6-7.
12. *Ma. Vi. Tan,* I, 15 ff.
13. The *Tantrāloka,* primarily a commentary on the Mālinī, takes

into account the thematic contents of the other Āgamas as well, which are unfortunately lost and are mentioned for purposes of the exposition of Śaiva doctrines, here and there.

14. *Ma. Vi. Tan*, I, 8, 13; *Tantrāloka*, IX, 7.
15. *Svacchanda*,1, 4-7.
16. *Svacchanda*, I,1-3.
17. *Svacchanda*, X, 997-998.
18. *Ibid.*, I, 8-10.
19. *Śivadṛṣṭi* lists a long line of Ācāryas responsible for expounding the Āgamic lore and hailing mostly from Triṣṭup or Tibet. In view of this, it is likely that the *Svacchanda* Tantra might have been composed somewhere in this area, which had a long and mature tradition of *guru-sādhaka* communication and of which Somānand was fully aware of while migrating to Kashmir.
20. *Ibid.*, IV, 539-543.
21. *Svacchanda*, VII, 245
22. *Ibid.*, III, 92, 211.
23. *Ibid.*, X, 66-67.
24. *I.P.V.V.*, II, p. 405. Yogaraja refers to it as *Śaivopaniṣad* (*Vivṛtti Paramārthasāra*).
25. *VB*, 158.
26. *Ibid.*, 162, I.
27. *Ibid.*, I; cf. M. Williams, *Indian Wisdon*, 525.
28. *VB*, 163.
29. *RT*, IV. Vāmana has been supposed to be the same as the Vāmana, one of the two authors (the other being Jayaditya) of *Kāśikavṛtti*, a commentary on grammar (*Kāśikā*, ed by Balasastry, Banaras, 1876). A reference to the *Kāśikavṛtti* in the work of Itsing (see Prof. M. Muller, *India*, pp. 239 ff, London, 1883) indicates that the work was known in A.D. 690, the latest date for Itsing.
30. *VB*, 156.
31. *Si-Yu-ki*, i, p. 158 (London, 1984).
32. S.P.S. Museum Srinagar. These icons cover the time-bracket of the 6th and 7th century.
33. *VB*, 69-70.
34. *SS Vi*, p. 2.
35. *ŚS Vā* (KSTS); *ŚS Vi*; *ŚS Vā*, No. XC III.
36. *Ibid.*, Vol I, pp. 2-3; *Spanda Vṛtti* of Kallaṭa.

37. Mahādevagiri is in the valley of the Harvan stream behind the Shalimar garden in Srinagar. It was an ideal mountain hermitage for the meditation of the Sādhakas and their literary discourses.
38. *RT*, V, 66.
39. *Introduction to Buddhist Tantric System* (1982).
40. *Vs MRS, op. cit.*, p. 131.
41. *Devī-Rahasya*, Paṭala XXVI, 3ff.
42. *Ibid.*, XXVI-XXX.
43. Kali Kumar Dutta, *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress*, 1959, pp. 155-156.
44. Agrawal, *Catalogue of the Brahmanical Images in the Mathura Art*, pp. 37 ff; Banerjea, *DHI* (II ed.), pp. 354-361.
45. *Devī-Rahasya*, Paṭala 31; XXXI, 10; XXVI, 11.
46. *Ibid.*, Intr., p. 3.
47. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 49, 108.
48. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 51, 25.
49. Jolly, *SBE*, VII, p. xxxii.
50. *Devī-Rahasya*, XXI, 6ff.
51. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 40.23; Pat. 41. 37, etc.
52. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 40 v, 20-22.
53. *Ibid.*, Paṭalas 40, 41, 43, 46.
54. *Studies in the Tantras, op. cit.*, p. 15.
55. *Devī-Rahasya*, 39, p. 224.
56. *Ibid.*
57. See also *Ma Vi Vā*, 893-896.
58. *Āhnika*, I, 275-328.
59. Most of the Āgamas seem to have survived upto the time of Abhinavagupta. But as it so frequently happens that through the medium of an abstract the original manuals get into desuetude, it is possible that the compilation of the thirty-seven *āhniks* (daily discourses) might have done away with the necessity of studying the other Āgamas, thus focussing the attention of the *sādhakas* on the principal Tantras alone and relying for the rest on the commentary of a great Ācāraya and his excerpts from other Āgamas.
60. *Comm.*, Vol. I, pp. 46-52.
61. *TA*, I, 108 and comm.
62. *Ibid.*, *Āhnika* , XIII, vv. 163-165.
63. According to this tradition Abhinavagupta is said to have

entered the cave of Biru in about A.D. 1009, in the company of 1001 disciples, on his way to *nirvāṇa*.

64. According to tradition the Tantric literature is classified into three categories on the basis of the origin of the Tantras.
65. See introduction to *Netra-Tantra*.
66. *NT*, I, 31.
67. *Ibid.*, 22-30.
68. *Ibid.*, III, 71; VI. 11-12.
69. *Ibid.*
70. *Ibid.*, I, 3-6.
71. *Ibid.*, I., 34-35.
72. *Paśulakṣaṇa-Prakaraṇa*, V. 18.
73. The tantric religion was in vogue in the days of the Purāṇas. This is sufficiently clear from the *Mārkaṇḍeya*, *Liṅga* and other Purāṇas.
74. *Abhinavagupta*, p. 85.
75. The *Mṛgendra Tantra* (I.I., p. 9) says: 'Lord is the creator of the Āgamas and through Āgamas we know Him.'
76. Megasthenes identifies the two Indian deities, Krisṇa and Śiva, with his own gods Herakles and Dionysios respectively (*Indica*). This would suggest that Śiva's worship was common in the hilly regions long before the advent of the Mauryas.
77. *NB*, *Passim*.
78. *RT*, I, 110-11, 122, 114; 111, 348-350; 456-458, I, 312-316.
79. This seems to echo and reflect some tantric practice of purificatory rites after one's death. Placing the corpse on a bier studded with razors was one such rite.
80. *Svacchanda*, laukikanam punah srstih punah samhara evaca.

3

Dīkṣā

What characterizes Śaivayoga is not only its practical side or spiritual discipline (*sādhanā*) but also its initiatory structure. The outstanding feature of this *yoga* is the process of purification of *tattvas* (essences) as a means to attain Sivahood.[1] This is known as initiation *(dīkṣā)*, which is defined as a process of imparting real knowledge (*jñāna*) and a preceptorial instruction which removes the *karma-vāsanā* (acts-latencies) of a *paśu*.[2] The word *dīkṣā* is derived from two roots *Dā-Dāni* and *kṣi-kṣiya* which mean 'to provide' and 'to remove' respectively. *Dī* denotes 'providing of right knowledge' and *kṣī* the removal of *karma-vāsanā*. So *dīkṣā* has two functions combined together, having as its aim the "liberation of man from ignorance"[3] (however various the meanings the word "ignorance" might express). The inclinations of *manas* flowing from *saṃskāras* give birth to *vāsanās* (latencies in the subconscious) the destruction of which can be accomplished by *dīkṣā*. The dissolution of *pāśa* (bondage) and identification of the individual as the Universal self is the supreme end of initiation.[4] Though every individual is Śiva, he forgets his Sivahood as he is under the bondage of the cosmic causal matrix. *Svātantrya Śakti* distributes her Śivahood into many numerous entities.[5] The *jīva* has to overcome the subliminal forces of the "specific subconscious sensations" on the path of self-recognition/liberation. The *vāsanās* raise many obstacles and constantly feed the psychomental stream. The *jīva* finds himself in danger of being defeated by this powerful stream and so the paramount need of *dīkṣā*. Guided by his *guru*, a *sādhaka* applies himself to passing successively beyond the

behaviour patterns and values proper to the *paśu*. In fact *dīkṣā* is a process which witnesses a transformation to another mode of being represented by self-recognition/liberation. The initiatory rites, examined in the following pages show how *dīkṣā* kills the *paśu* in *jīva* and leads him to *mokṣa;* it creates, so to say, a "new body" "a mystical body", which enables the *Sādhaka* to enter the transcendent mode of being. The initiated transformation that gives access to a pure mode of being and transcends the human condition has been given the name *mokṣa.*[7] Transformation implies to "free and re-absorb (*antarmukha*) onself" to a place of existence, to a mode of being transcending the human condition. It means the absorption of *paśu-bhāva* (animality in *jīva*) into the state of true knowledge (*jñāna-sadbāva*). This is described as *ūrdhva-gati*, the state of transcendence or the realization of the self.[8] *Dīkṣā* is a particular consecration ceremony for initiation with the higher life, conferring on the initiate (*sādhakā*) the gift of knowing one self and casting away the impurity arising from the sense of difference that binds oneself.[9] The success of initiation forms the essence of all the religious disciplines.[10] Certainly, *dīkṣā* is co-extensive with human experience, which it attempts to interpret in its entirety and having as its aim the "liberation of the self from its incomplete *jñāna*".[11] The Āgamas give many indications of the threefold *malas* (defilements) which bind the *jīva* and do not allow him to realize his true nature. Within the destruction of these *malas* the body is not adopted; the destruction of the body is not killing but *mokṣa.*[12] The guidance of a master (*guru*) is necessary. Strictly speaking, it is the *guru* who teaches spiritual discipline to the disciple and thus initiations have been transmitted orally from mouth to ear. The initiation of the *Śaivāgamas* differs from other religious initiations. The *sādhaka* does not begin his *dīkṣā* by forsaking the profane world (family, society, etc). He does not dissociate himself from the profane condition; he lives in society, marries, establishes a family etc. *Śaiva-dīkṣā* does not prescribe the rigid path of *hatha-yoga*. The Śaivayogic techniques recommend solitude; they invite the *sādhaka* to follow exactly that course of action and self introspection that would help him to free his self from the impurities of *āṇava*, *kārma* and *māyīaya malas.*[13] He is not expected to do the opposite of what normal human behaviour expects one to do. In fact, there is a perfect continuity in his life, although at the *sādhaka* level he has to observe the vows of chastity, *saṃyama* (rigid discipline), etc. before he

travels to the state of a *siddha* (*siddhāvasthā*) wherein all external restraints, rituals and observances lose their meaning. He does not react against the normal, secular and human inclination; he turns to his phychomental life by fixing his thoughts on the 'self'. He, nevertheless, withdraws the inclinations of his *citt* inwards from the phenomenal world. The *sādhaka* does not necessarily refuse his native condition nor does he attempt to abolish it as a disciple who thirsts for the 'unconditional', for 'freedom', for 'power' which the Śaivas designate by the name of *Svātantrya* (Absolute freedom). For him there is no reversal of human values, which are very much an integral part of the same *Śakti* from which emanates this universe;[14] to him the world of gods is not the opposite of ours. The various *bhuvanas* of which the *Svacchanda Tantra*[15] gives details look like our own physical world with its various enjoyments and attractions. A *sādhaka* enjoys the numerous objects as a usual routine with a detached view. He is indifferent to comforts, distractions, etc. which he regards as a part of the manifested world, without showing contempt for any one of them. On the plane of psychomental life, his introspective nature pursues the same end— to re-direct the sense energies to the source, to realize Universal consciousness.[16] The *sādhaka* becomes conscious of the totality and unity of the self in the phenomenal world of diversity. He enjoys his own expansion (*prasāra*) and *saṃhāra* (dissolution). Unlike a *haṭha-yogī*, he does not observe rigidity in maintaining a static bodily position, no rhythmical breathing, no concentration on a single point, etc. though these are equally related to his spiritual discipline. The *sādhaka* does not physically withdraw himself from what Eliade calls 'The profane human life,'[17] though mentally he turns away from it. He witnesses the divine drama which appears to him very rich with its multiplicity and fragmentation, which is *Śivabhāva* (the state of Śivahood), *vikāsa* (fulfilment). To him the biomental life is not a 'chaos'[18] but the sport of Paramśiva. *Dīkṣā* is not precious in itself; it becomes precious by virtue of its soteriological function, because knowledge of the self helps a sadhaka to achieve *mokṣa*.[19] The *guru* is a kind of active and powerful social mascot who gives *dīkṣā*, initiation into Śaivayoga. He plays a highly positive social role; he acts as a master to his disciple. The interpersonal relation between the two introduce into their relationship an element of psychological and emotional constraint. Whomsoever the *guru* initiates, be he even the killer of

a Brāhmaṇa, becomes Śiva.[20] He removes the *pāśas* or *malas* of the individual *paśu*. It is the *dīkṣājñāna* that purifies the *jīva* and removes his impurities[22] and leads to *bhukti* (enjoyment) and *mukti* (liberation).[23] Having obtained *yogadīkṣā* and practised *yoga*, the *sādhaka* obtains *siddhi* and ultimately the position of Śiva.[24] Once the supreme position of *Śivatva* is achieved, he does not return to the state of a *paśu* but dwells in his pure self.[25] It is Śiva's will that draws a *sādhaka*, imbued with Rudraśakti, towards a true *guru*.[26]

Broadly speaking, the Āgamas divide *dīkṣā* under two main heads; *kriyādīkṣā* and *jñānadīkṣā*, or *kriyādhikāra* and *jñānadhikāra* of the *Tantrāloka* depending upon the nature of a *sādhaka*. *Kriyādīkṣā*, involving the use of several substances like the oblations of clarified butter, sesamum, etc to the sacrificial fire, is recommended for those who are desirous of enjoying worldly pleasures and earthly goods and are known as *Lokadharmīs*. But the *dīkṣā* that has for its aim the purification of a sādhaka's *karma*, rooted in his *saṃvit* (consciousness), is the *jñānadīksā*[28]. Such sadhakas as purify their *ātman* by means of *jñānadīksā* etc are really pure. They know Param Śiva alone. They rejoice in their own supreme spirit. They do not attain to the supreme position (*param-pada*). On becoming Param Śiva they hardly stand in need of *param-pada*. The *Āgamas* thus provide for both types of *sādhakas*. The entire *sādhanā* right from *āṇavopāya* (the little means) to *anupāya* (no means) is termed yoga. Unlike the yoga theories and practices as formulated by Patañjali, there are no rigid series of ascetic practices for "the suppression of states of consciousness" (*Yoga-sūtras*, 1 2). These are considered as dangerous and likely to cause confusion in consciousness like the horse who, when obstructed, runs into wrong tracks.[30] On the contrary, in *Śaivasādhana* (Śiva-realization) the state of consciousness is directed towards Śivabhāva in such a way as to accomplish oneness with Śiva, with or without efforts. This is called yoga.[31] Nowhere else is the identity between the *paśu* and Śiva more frequently expressed. From the first, its end is perfectly clear—to emancipate *jīva* from his animality, to conquer absolute freedom, to recognize the self. The method to achieve this is called *dīkṣā* which comprises a number of different techniques like *sabījadīkṣā*, *nirbījadīkṣā* etc),[32] all having one characteristic in common—they are anti-*vāsanā*, or, indeed, anti-human. All of the *dīkṣā* techniques invite to one and the same aim—to overcome the *vāsanās* of an animal and do exactly the opposite of what normally

human nature forces one to do. The orientation always remains the same—to react against the "human" inclination (*paśu-vāsanā*) and to reintegrate the different modalities of the *paśu* in a single modality—the undifferentiated completeness of Śiva Śakti (*Citt* and *Ānanda*), the primordial unity. The *sādhaka* who attains to this undifferentiated union (or the state of *Spandamayatā*—Universal throb) realizes his goal—coincidence with the All, recovering unity, re-establishing the initial non-duality, abolishing time and creation (i.e. the multiplicity and heterogeneity of the cosmos). To him the two-fold division of the real into object-subject (*prameya-pramātā*) is abolished; he recovers the original position of Sivahood enriched by the dimensions of freedom and trans-consciousness (*caitanya*). He reintegrates the original completeness after having broken the six sheaths of *kañcukas* (revealing agents of limited individuality) and establishes a new mode of being—consciousness of freedom (*Svātantrya, Caitanyamātmā*), which exists nowhere in the cosmos—which exists only in his own self endowed with the Śakti of *Pañcakṛtya* (five acts of creation, dissolution, etc). He sees his own *svarūpa* (nature), the same existence of consciousness (*Saṃvit*) in everything. The *sabīja* and *nirbījadīkṣās* help the *sādhaka* to fully recognize his innate quality purged from all types of impurity.

Life is a continual discharge of *vāsanās* and a considerable part of human experience is owing to these forms of actions and thought which are the outcome of their play. The disciples and *guru* are differentiated because of their different *vāsanās*,[33] which manifest themselves through *vrttis*. If the disciple is trust-worthy, the *guru* directs him, according to his *vāsanās*, to *mukti* or *bhukti* through *homa*.[34] Accordingly the path of *dīkṣā* is set by means of subtle norms that break the *pāśas*. For ordinary aspirants or *samayis* there is the provision of the current usages of *Parameśa-Śāstra;* reciting (*vācana*), listening to oral discourses, the study of the Vedas, Āgamas, *japa, dhyāna* (meditation), etc.[35] Their *ātmā* is purified by the observance of *samayas* (traditional usages), the practice of yoga. In the absence of purification of *adhvās* (paths) by means of *dīkṣā*, he obtains the position of *Īśvara* after his *pāśas* have been purified by means of *yoga*.[36] As against the *Sādhaka dīkṣā*, we have the *Putraka dīkṣā*, which is much more subtle than the *dīkṣā* of a *Samayī* who is satisfied with the worship of the *Īśvaratattva* and does not require any subtle procedure or *mukti* but simply the enjoyment of earthly

goods (*bhukti*), not through the process of *mantras* but just to attain the position of the future *Putraka*. The *Samayī* is compared to a *Rajaputra* (prince).[37] *Dīkṣā* is correspondingly related to the achievement of *bhukti* and *mukti* for *Sādhakas* who are of two types. One, those who are constantly devoted to Śivadharma and are purified through their accomplished *mantras*. Unlike the *Lokadharmins*, they are not partial in the observance of those conducts (*samāyacāras*). Two, those who are given to the *ācarā* of *Śruti* and *Smṛti*, bathing at *tīrthas*, gifting away foodgrains, digging wells, ponds and constructing *maṭhas*, etc. They perform virtuous deeds to earn merit but do not practise *mantras*. The *dīkṣā* of these Lokadharmīs is without the incantation of mantras.[38] Their *sādhanā* comprises good deeds and warding off evil by means of *dīkṣā* and those of the *karmas* which start with their body and are destroyed by means of *mantras*.[39] The only *karma* that is not purified is that of commenced actions (*prūrabdha*).[40] A *sādhaka* may belong to any *Āsrama:* householder's or one living in crematoriums; the one trying for his *siddhi* by means of *homa* etc. and the other through the practices of an ascetic (*yati*). Nevertheless, both are *Śivadharmīs*.[41]

Next comes the Putraka.[42] Desirous of liberation, the Putrakas' liberation can be of two kinds: seedless (*nirbīja*) and full of seed (*bījvāna*). *Nirbījadīkṣā*, strictly speaking, refers to that *dīkṣā* in which all *vāsanās* are burnt and no residual traces are left. Such *dīkṣā* is applicable to infants, fools, old men incapable of performing *yajñas* and other religious rites, women, those who have enjoyed *bhogas*, diseased persons with whom most of the *vāsanās* seem to have been practically reduced because of one or other circumstance. This *Nirbījadīkṣā* is not accompanied by customary usages (*samaya*), which obviously refers to the performance of sacrifices and other rituals. Curiously, the *pāśas* (bonds) of *samāyacāra* "observance of customary usages" have to be purified in *nirbījadīkṣā*[43], whereas *sabījadīkṣā* is called for those well-versed in *Śāstras* and observance of the *vratas* (vows), *caryā* (conduct), etc along with *samayas*.[44] *Sabījadīkṣā* bestows grace (*anugraha*) on those learned in tantric lore. When accompanied by *Samayācāra*, particular *samayas*, particular *ācāras* are needed for those who are initiated in *mantras* and wish for *mokṣa-siddhi* (fulfilment of *mokṣa*). Failing this, they have to make amends for their wrongs (*prāyaścitta*).

Who is this Putraka? The *Svacchanda Tantra*[45] says that the *Putraka* is the son, born of the womb of *Vāgīśī*, and whose *vāsanās*

are subdued owing to grace. Though the observance of *samayas* is laid down in the *sādhaka dīkṣā*, yet that *dīkṣā* is not *sabīja dīkṣā;* but the *dīkṣā* of the *Putraka* is characterized as *sabīja dīkṣā*. It appears that the history of the *Putraka* goes back to the period of the *Brāhmaṇas* when it was thought that the Ācārya himself bears the child. He placed his right hand on the disciple's head whereby he was said to have conceived him. On the third night he was supposed to take birth as a brāhmaṇa, alongwith Śavitri.[46] The conception of Śavitri seems to have been introduced to emphasize the sharpening of his intellect. The *guru* seems to divinize the *sādhaka* by his mystic touch which has been called as *sparśa dīkṣā* in the Tantras. The relation between the *guru* and the disciple is like that between father and son. It seems that only the highly developed souls were entitled to such a *dīksa*. The *Putraka* could be initiated in *sabīja* and/or *nirbīja dīkṣā*.[47] In the former, the *Putraka*, far from enjoying earthly enjoyments, as commonly understood, again took birth for the welfare of the oppressed and distressed *jīvas*. The *Sabīja dīkṣā* had for its objective the good of those individuals who needed the guidance and direction of the realized souls and consequently the residual traces of *vāsanā* and the seeds of *karma* were left to ensure the uplift and realization of other aspirants. In the *Nirbīja dīkṣā*, no residual traces were left with the fall of the body (*dehapāta*); it meant the complete extinction of the *vāsanās* and the attainment of *Svātantrya* (Absolute freedom). In either case the deconditioning of mind is an important factor to ensure the good of the distressed and the wish for liberation to attain 'awareness.' In the *Nirbīja dīkṣā* the bonds of *samayācāra* (*yoga, homa* etc) are purified and by mere *dīkṣā mukti* is achieved. It leads to immediate *nirvāṇa* (*sadyonirvāṇa*) and severs the bonds of the past, future and commenced *pāśas*. At the end of the *dīkṣā*, the initiated *sādhaka*, attains to Śiva position after he leaves the body.[47] But in the *Sabīja dīkṣā* the *sādhaka* observes *Samayācāra* even after he has left the body.[48]

The *Āgamas* reveal a combination of the two main aspects of *dīkṣā*, popular or *lokadharmin*, and the sophisticated or *Śivadharmin*. The *Lokadharmins* represent the liberal attitudes of the simpler folk towards religion and society. While adopting the Vedic practice and the observance of their own rituals, they were not bound by the code of *Śaiva-dīkṣā*. In their religious convictions their attitude was marked by the negation of external formalities and doctrinal intricacies in regard to the recognition of the self and by the

affirmation of beliefs and practices which are considered as the legacy of the primitive, unsophisticated, undifferentiated way of life. Though it reflects the liberal attitude of the times, it, nevertheless, speaks of the brahmanical hold on both the categories of the initiated and uninitiated. The practices of the *Lokadharmins* and those of the Śaiva initiates were burdened with brahmanical superimpositions. The *Lokadharmins* and *Śivadharmins* alike were under the social dominance of brāhmaṇas whose influence was enormous, considered in the context of their mode of worship, foundation of *maṭhas* or the symbolic representation in mystic diagrams, the typical tantric mode of worship etc. That there are numerous forms of *dīkṣā* or initiation only indicates the prominent role of the *guru* or master as the spiritual guide.[49] Viewed from the fact that a *paśu* had to be transformed and led on to the path of self-recognition, the moral influence of the brāhmaṇas could not have been in any way less formidable either. Whereas for the ordinary people *samaya-dīkṣā* constituted their spiritual discipline, for the advanced aspirants the guideline was provided by different types of *dīkṣā*. The role of a *guru* in both the types of *dīkṣā* was well defined. A *śiṣya* might have been entitled to follow the way of rites (*kriyā*)[50] and *yoga* (concentration), or the way of knowledge (*jñāna*); he had to be guided by his *guru*, the spiritual mentor in either case.

The importance of initiation (*dīkṣā*) can be well understood if we take into account the fact that the *Āgamas* mention numerous types of *dīkṣā* under the two broad categories of *kriyādīkṣā* and *jñānadīkṣā*. The ignorance of *spandaśakti* (vibration energy) saturated with *jñāna* and *kriyā* is called the ignorance of the *paśu* and hence his *paśa*. We are told that Param Śiva is both independent and joyous (*ānandamaya*) and yet because of *saṃkoca* (obscuration) conceals His true nature, which binds the *jīva* in a cycle of births and re-births.[51] One can be free only by attaining *nirvāṇa*, that is, by going beyond 'the plane of profane human experience' and re-establishing the plane of the unconditioned (*tattvātīta*). In other words, one can be free only by dying, so to say, to this profane existence and *being reborn* into transhuman life, impossible to define or describe, being beyond our experience. *Māyā* is a cloak (*kañcuka*) to be thrown away like the old piece of cloth before it is replaced by another wear for attaining the light of Parma Śiva.[52] This would suggest that the disciple had to decondition his human existence for a real life of *jñana* in which the light of intelligence could be gained by him.

Once the bond of *Māyā* is burnt the disciple does not return to the state of a *paśu*.[53] With the attainment of Śivahood, the *sādhaka* becomes seedless,[54] in other words, he dies completely to this profane, ignorant and illusory life of defilement to be reborn (in another "state"), to the spiritual life that will make it possible to achieve self-recognition.

The *kriyā-dikṣā* is an external process of the purification of body and mind. It is ritualistic in character.[55] It includes *kalā-dīkṣā, tattva-dīkṣā, pada-dīkṣā, varṇa-dīkṣā, mantra-dīkṣā, bhuvana-dīkṣā*.[56] The external use of *yantra, mālā* etc had an esoteric significance and it seems that these formed an integral part of the archaic practices of the non-Vedic people. Whereas the Vedic *Samskāras*, as laid down in the Brāhmaṇas, were restricted to brāhmaṇas and kṣatriyas, the Tantric *dīkṣā* was open to all the *varṇas*, including women. *Mantras* formed an essential element of tantrism but not so in the Vedic rituals.[57] It appears that the Tantrics confined their earlier rituals in which the incantation of *mantras* was regarded as fundamental to achieve *siddhis* in different activities of life. The combination of both *yantra* and *mantra* formed a part of their magico-religious life.

The purpose of *kalā-dīkṣā*, as with the Pāśupatas, was to grasp the elements of the gross or material world. It seems that they investigated the nature of the embryo shortly after conception and studied the menstrual discharge to see how the fertilization of the uterus took place. This hints at the fertility rites with the non-Vedic people who seem to have found a close homology between the embryo and the earth. At the metaphysical level it denoted to them the different expressions of Śiva, physical waves and vibrations of the cosmological order. Amongst the six *adhvās*,[58] *kalādhvā* is the primordial; it constitutes the cosmos. *Kalā* is that *tattva* which obscures a *jīva's kriyā-śakti* and makes him think of his limited capacity to act. The *guru* initiates his disciple in *kalā-dīkṣā* by introducing him to the *mantras* pertaining to the heart, head, the tuft of hair (*śikhā*), shoulders (*kavaca*), eyes etc.[59] The *kalā-dīkṣā* destroys the bonds of *paśa*. The *guru* transmits *śakti*[60] to the disciple to conquer *Māyā*. This *dīkṣā*, however, pre-supposes that the disciple is well-acquainted with *samaya-dīkṣā* meant for ordinary people wherein the *śiṣya* had to worship his *guru* and the fire dedicated to Śiva (*Śivāgni*). This would suggest that *samaya-dīkṣā* was a step higher than the former meant for the ordinary people. But in both the types of *dīkṣā* the disciple's limited capacity to work

was a decisive factor to determine how much he was going to receive from his master.

The purification of thirty-six *tattvas* from *Prithivī* upto Śiva comprises the *tattva-dīkṣā.*[61] It is through the path of the *tattvas* that the highest reality (*paramārtha*) is known.[62] Once the mind of the empirical individual (*citta*) stays motionless in the *tattvas*, the *yogī* is not contaminated by the enjoyment of sense-objects but is pure like the leaf of the lotus in water.[63] When Śiva wishes to manifest Himself, the process of that manifestation starts with Sadāśiva with whom 'this-ness' makes its appearance. As Śiva-Śakti *tattva* is at the root of manifestation/creation, this is also included in the *tattvas* which makes their number total to thirty-six. As these are simply the manifestation of the supreme *tattva* (*Param tattva*), they are homologous. Each *tattva* shares the characteristics of pervading the universe and contributing to its formation in its totality. The peculiar nature of these *tattvas* makes them undifferentiated from Śiva and one inheres in the other in such a way that each *tattva* is by itself a component of thirty-six *tattvas.* The process of absorption of one *tattva* into another leads to final absorption in Śiva. The superiority of one *tattva* over the other is recognized in the *Āgamas.*[65] Each principle from the earth upto matter is studied with their diversity by the *yogī* to attain *siddhi* in yoga.[66] He who knows the *tattvas* in their essence is a *guru* equal to Śiva and is called *mantra-vīrya* (one who is proficient in the *mantras*). Mere touch and conversation with him frees men from the sins of seven births.[67] Those who are initiated by such a *guru* obtain the desired fruit and attain to a supreme position free from disease, etc.[68] A *sādhaka* by absorbing *daśādhva* into the body, the body into *prāṇas*, *prāṇas* into *buddhi*, *buddhi* into *śūṇya* and *śūṇya* into *saṃvit* recognizes his complete *saṃvit-svarūpa.*[69] Owing to these thirty-six *tattvas*, the *jīva* who is Parama-Śiva in its essential nature comes within the bondage of individuation and so initiation has been characterized as a process of purification of *tattvas.* and a means to attain Sivahood.[70]

Pada-dīkṣā is just similar to the *dīkṣā* of nine *tattvas.*[71] *Varṇa, mantra* and *bhuvana dīkṣā* are like *kalā-dīkṣā.*[72] We have one hundred and eighteen *bhuvanas* within the thirty-six *tattvas*. The beings that live within these *bhuvanas* and *tattvas* are designated as *Pramātās* who, as subjects, are capable of knowing and doing things, according to their grades and purity. The gross or subtle state of

their *malas* (defilements) determines the degree of their freedom of action and knowledge and their classification too. The *guru* is advised to purge his disciple of all the impurities peculiar to the different worlds (118 in number), which respectively cover the range of principles from *Pṛthvī* to Sadāśiva before the disciple can find the reality in Śiva.[73] The disciple wishing for worldly enjoyments, meditates on all the *bhuvanas*, and then takes to Śaivayoga.[74] The description of the thirty-two *Rudra-bhuvanas* of the shape of uterus (*yonis*) pictures regions inhabited by celestial maidens and *vīras* (heroes) of excellent virtues where no-body is miserable, purified as they are by Anantabhaṭṭaraka.[75] Alongside of these are the numerous hells, roughly five hundred in number where all conceivable types of torture exist in various forms.[76] These dreadful hells are triangular in shape and are meant for those who have been charged with sinful deeds,[77] like the murder of others, violating a woman's chastity, disparaging *Śiva-śāstras*, removing the riches of gods or temples, killing of *brāhmaṇas*, *pitṛis*, cows, seizing gold, land, being without ceremonial cleanliness, *ācāra*, being without mercy and *dakṣiṇā*, not gifting away things, slanderous, untruthful, etc.[78] As against this *Śivabhakti* is the main *dharma* and devotion to *Śivācāra* destroys the bonds of creature-hood. The *Āgamas* prescribe the brāhmaṇical code of ethics and uphold the dominance of the priestly class and their interests. All the wrong actions listed above are against the social ethics of the brāhamaṇical order and hence the provision for punishment of those deadly sins. All the *bhuvanas* and *lokas* are to be purified,[80] which obviously refer to the rewards for pious works and retribution for loose living. Considering the purpose of *dīkṣā* as the imparting of *jñāna*, the means to obtain it, the spiritual exertion of the *guru* to wash off the impurities accumulated in the disciple's inner heart (*antastala*), the communication of right knowledge and *mantra* in a systematic way, we have a list of a number of *dīkṣās* quoted in the *Tantrāloka*. One of these is called *prāṇotakramaṇa dīkṣā*, whereby the disciple's body falls off to attain *mokṣa* in a body-less form. Another kind of *dīkṣā* was imparted to the disciple who was about to die. Through the performance of *Jālandhara* a dead disciple was traced out and initiated at the place where he lay after his death. We have also a *dīkṣā* for a disciple who is in another *loka*. All these *dīkṣās* indicate that the human body or physical nature was regarded as incompatible with the attainment of *mokṣa* or liberation

from the bonds of creaturehood. The daily routine and *Yajñas* of *samaya-dīkṣā,* social and ritual activity (*caryā*), *dhyāna* (concentration) may purify the atman of a *Samayī* or secure him the position of an *Īśvara,*[82] it could in no way reunite or reintegrate him in a state of absolute unity (*advaya*). The attainment of *Īśvarapada* entitles a *Samayī* to *Aparā-Mukti* i.e. liberation from the *Māyā* in which Param Śiva through His *Aparā-Śakti* manifests the world as distinctly differentiated from Him.[83] The absolute reality contains in itself all dualities and polarities. In consequence, man experiences a state of duality (object-subject etc) and this is suffering, "bondage". The *Samayī* therefore could not achieve the reunion of the two polar principles within his own body, although his aspiration to *Īśvarapada* is assured to him. The manifestation of Param Śiva in the form of the physical world respresents the shattering of the primordial unity through his *Jñāna* and *Kriyā-Śakti.* The purpose of tantric *dīkṣā* is the merger of the lower into the next higher *tattva* till the reunion of the two polar principles (actually one in Param Śiva), *Śiva-Śakti* takes place and the *jīva* realizes his *Śivabhava* (the *Śivatattva* practised physically)—a state which is beyond the *tattvas* (*tattvatita*). The initiated, after receiving divine grace for liberation (*Śaktipāta*) becomes a unique *Ātman,* with his serene *citt.*[84] The *samayas* (traditional rules and prevalent practices with the *gurus*) have been defined as the right path leading to *jñāna*. These are followed to get united with the supreme *tattva* and as a means of attaining *jñāna*. The guru (*daiśika*) relates these to the disciple and then bids good-bye to the image he had invoked in his serene *citt.*[85] The *Daiśikas* seem to have been women initiates[86] who enjoyed the highest place among the distinguished initiates. We may not be far wrong to presume that *Daiśikas* were an important class of initiates who performed the concluding part of the rituals. They shot into prominence in tantric initiation and their order developed in a society in which woman held a respectable position. The account of *samaya-dīkṣā* as quoted and available in the *Tantrāloka* lays emphasis on mental imagery, which appears to have been a later development of the external worship performed by the *gurus* and their disciples. The *guru* acquainted the disciple with all the traditional rules of conduct and the significance of the *mantras* in worship (*arca*). *Samaya-dīkṣā* was intended for status-redemption.[88]

Next to *Samaya-dīkṣā* is mentioned the *Putraka-dīkṣā,* which

suggests that the *Putrakas*[89] ranked higher to the *Samayīs* in the hierarchy of initiates. This kind of initiation is described under three broad categories which bring about the identification or union with Param Śiva, the highest principle.[90] *Mokṣa-dīkṣā* being the aim of the *Putraka*, is examined under *sabīja*, *nirbīja* and *sadyo-nirvāṇada*.[91] For *sabīja mokṣa-dīkṣā* the initiate has to observe the traditional rules (*samayācāra*) without which his fall is imminent.[92] Perhaps the practice of these traditional rules was considered necessary to deliver the spirit from those traditional rules the importance and ultimate doubtful utility of which could be known only experimentally. That is why the purification of *samayācāras* is held next in importance to the *nirbīja mokṣa-dīkṣā*, which, as the next successive higher step, leads to *Sadyonirvāṇadā dīkṣā*. With complete faith in the guru, the disciple gets *mukti* at the very time of *dīkṣā*.[94] All the three *pāśas* of the commenced actions are severed and the disciple attains the supreme position of Śiva.[95] The tendency towards concrete, experimental knowledge is very clearly suggested and the function of different experiences to free himself from the "bonds of slavery" (*pāśa*)[96] indicate how the *jīva* gains his freedom through experiences. In other words, an initiate cannot free himself from the *malas*, if he does not know life concretely. Herein lies the explanation of the paradoxical teleology of creation, which, according to our *Āgamas*, fetters the human soul and at the same time urges it on to liberation/self-recognition. *Dīkṣā* is most suitable for him who has been purified in *saṃskāras*. Such an intelligent *jīva* achieves *bhoga* (enjoyment of earthly goods), of *mokṣa* through his own efforts.[97] It is only the knowledge of *yoga* etc that makes the initiate a *Samayī* or *Putraka*.[98] One who is deprived of this *jñāna* is like a blind man on the road and is completely dependent on a *Deśika*. *Dīkṣā* is the only knowledge, which, without internal *jñāna*, gives *mukti* as logically proved by the Āgamas.[99] The *śiśu*[100] (disciple), being consecrated and made to concentrate his mind by his *guru* is made to unite with the self.[101] The *guru* determines the place of *Putraka* and *Sādhaka* by his *dīkṣā mantra* and *śāstras*.[102] From this we see in what sense the *guru* purifies the *karmas* of his disciples who desire to enjoy the worldly objects but not of those who are noble souls. The *śiśu*, urged by him, leaves the pleasures of worldly *bhogas*, kingdom, heaven, etc and aspires for the *bhogas* of the other world.[103]

The use of the term *nirvāṇa* alongside of its equivalent, *mokṣa*[104]

or *mukti*, is suggestive of a Buddhist or more precisely the *Vajrayāna* context and its impact on the Śaivite tantric literature. The Buddhist parallels, so often met with in our *Āgamas*, indicate a close connection with Buddhist tantrism. Both *Śivasūtras* and *Parātriṃśikā* and a host of commentaries on our sources, the Śaivāgamas, suggest that a large number of initiates must have come from the Buddhist fold. Hostility to caste consciousness being a normal feature of Tantric worship, most of the Buddhists seem to have been consecrated by initiation, but, in the absence of additional evidence, it is useless to speculate about their exact number or their grades as initiates. It is, however, likely that most of them were admitted as *Putrakas* about whose *Sadyonirvāṇa-dīkṣā* we have a fairly large number of references in the Āgamas. It is reasonable to assume that they were placed in the rank of the *Putrakas* since the *samaya-dīkṣā* was concerned with traditional rules with which these neophytes must have found little favour.

In the *Kriyā-dīkṣā* context we are introduced to a disciple's intense longing for becoming a preceptor and being initiated in the mysteries of Śaivism. The disciple offers worship to Bhairava to attain to this position so that his body is enshrined by Him.[105] This section is called *Vikṣipta-dīkṣā* ("stable and unstable initiation" in the *Tantraloka*)[106] and aims to throw asunder the projecting power of *Māyā* or *avidyā*. The *guru* should feel that the six paths (*ṣadadhva*) are presided over by Bhairava and that his body has been penetrated by the divine spirit and the cloaks of *mala* concealing his kinship with Siva have fallen one by one. He should identify himself with his disciple and with the path of initiation. The *guru* (*mauli*) should reflect thus: "I am the supreme *tattva*, the whole universe is in me; I am the stay and support of this all".[107] The unification of the disciple, the *guru* and the universe into one ultimate reality is the *nirvana*.[108] This is the burning of the bondage of *māyā*, the destruction of the *paśu*.[109] The purification of the *adhvās* and the merging of the *prithvi tattva* into the water *tattva*, etc in a reverse order (*viloma*) to their next higher *tattvas* till all the *tattvas* become *Śivatattva* is the process of destroying *pasas*; otherwise they exist separately.[110] *Mala* is known by the name of *Māyā* and is the cause of separation. Even with the destruction of *karmas* there can be no *mukti*.[111] It is the *sabîja* and *nirbīja dīkṣā* which give *mukti* and *bhukti*.[112] When there is *Śaktipāta* in the disciple, and no residue of his *saṃskāras* is left, the *dīkṣā* is *nirbīja* and it promotes *bhakti*

towards the *devas, agni* and *guru*. Such an initiated disciple, with the fall of his body, attains Śivahood.[113] Looking more closely, we see that the mystery of liberation, the return of the elements (*tattvas*) to *Śivatattva*, signifies an anticipation of death. The yogico-tantric exercises and rituals are only an "anticipatory visualization" of the merging and return of elements in the *Śivatattva*, a process set in motion by purification through *dīkṣā*.

Abhinavagupta[114] amplifies the concept of *Sadyonirvāṇa-dīkṣā*, which, according to him, is the *dīkṣā* leading to the separation of the body or death and attaining Śivahood. When death (lit. the collapse of the body) approaches a disciple, he, through *Śāṁkarī dīkṣā*, goes to Śiva.[115] This is accomplished either through devotion to the *guru* or the entreaty of his kins and friends.[116] The immediate absorption in the Supreme follows in consequence of the separation from the body. This is called *Utkrāmaṇī dīkṣā* (or *utkrānti dīkṣā*) which the *guru* can impart even without the exercise of yoga,[117] *kriyā*, etc but through the power of *Brāhma-Vidyā*.[118] If the *Samayī*, considering all the *bhogas* as changeable, leaves the body, then he (the *Samayi*) is immediately absorbed in Śiva by his *guru*. He attains to the eternal position.[119] Thus to realize the *parama-pada* the *Sādhaka* or *Samayī* has to raise himself to another mode of being, and, to reach it, he must "die" to this life and sacrifice the "personality" that has issued from temporality, that has been created by history.

The *guru*, who realizing fullness in his *ātman* through *japa, homa, arcā* and *dhyāna*, adheres to a scheme of *dīkṣā*, which is called *sapratyaya* or the *dīkṣā* that convinces the foolish about its actuality. But Abhinavagupta adds that this is not, of course, the method followed by the *sanyāsis, jñānis*, the knowers of *tattva*.[120] The *dīkṣā* which is performed alongwith *acaras* (traditional rules) is the discernible *Pratyaya-dīkṣā*. However, the *jñānis* do not recognize the *pratyaya-dīkṣā*. The practice of this *dīkṣā* results in five states of happiness, the awakening of the serpent force, the bodily tremulation, sleep and intoxication.[121] The *Tantrarāja* states that the *sādhaka* becomes like the sky; with his worldly bonds burnt, he becomes Bhairava, etc.[122] The material body leaves off its entire *pāśas* (lit. earthly content) and through the *mantra* of lightness attains the form of the highest sky.[123] These magical powers made a tremendous impression on the popular imagination and remind us of the certain shamanic elements that confirm the archaism of the myths and symbols launched by the appearance of such *gurus*

(initiatory masters) who, through their *sapratyaya* or *tulādīkṣā* achieved incredible success. *Tulādiksā* most probably refers to the initiation which lightened the body of the *Sādhaka* in such a way as to make his weight correspond to that of a flower in a balance.[124]

Another type of *dīksa* referred to indirectly in the *Malinīvijayottara* is the *parokṣa dikṣā*,[125] or the initiation made in the absence of a *śiṣya*. The *sādhaka*, charged by Rudra-śakti is drawn to an excellent *guru* for obtaining *bhukti* and *mukti* by the will of Śiva.[126] Having obtained *dīkṣā* from his pleased *guru*, the *sādhaka* attains Śivahood after he has enjoyed himself or has left his body.[127] A disciple who, after his long service of the *guru* and without obtaining *dīkṣā*, has died, can, if his *guru* is so pleased, get immediate *dīkṣā* of liberation (*samutkrāntidīkṣā*). So can those who have been under the lower type of Vedic initiation and have not obtained *Putraka dīkṣā*, or those who have been struck down by a waggon, etc or have been overpowered by witchcraft, or have been killed by a *guru's yantra* and *tantra*.[128] The commentary lists such persons as have met with an untimely death; those that have rolled down a mountain or fallen from a tree, or died of hanging or died of a falling stone, or died in deep wells and streams or through abortion, or through a tamed ox, or of poison, or have committed suicide, or have killed cows, brāhmaṇas, *piṭris* and *mātṛkās*, or have died of disease or of *lūṭa* disease. What is the purpose of uplifting these dead persons through *dīkṣā*? The entreaties of their kins, wives, friends, sons or one's own appeal for mercy makes the *guru* initiate them for the uplift of such dead persons. An image of such dead persons in the form of a disciple is made by the *guru* after he has worshipped a proper *maṇḍala*.[129] Then he purifies each of their *Adhvās* upto *Prakṛti* .[130] The *guru* invests the disciple with a body of *dūrvā* grass, and having drawn him through the process of an armour (or sorcery?) that *jīva* stays like one asleep and is without a mind, a special body, etc. It does not vibrate, nor does it know or utter anything. Through his *nirbīja dīkṣā* he offers the *dūrvā*-body to the sacrificial fire. The *jīva* is thus freed of his *pāśas*, attains Śivahood, and is not born again.[131] This body born of *dūrvā*, however, vibrates through *pratyaya dīkṣā*. Though revived to life by *parokṣa dīkṣā*, it is called *nirbījika* and the image of the disciple is formed by *saṃkalpa*. The *guru*, by means of *parokṣa dīkṣā*, transcends *māyā* for *bhoga* and then for *mukti*.[132] As a matter of fact, the *guru* involves him in *mukti* through *bhuktiyojinikā* (making him one with

bhogas).[133] The emphasis here is put on two principal points, the restoration of a disciple's body and his initiation, called *parokṣa dīkṣā*. Restoration implies destruction of the body with its *pāśas* so that the disciple experiences the mysterious process of transformation and absorption into Śiva. In this dialectic of opposites we recognize the favourite theme of the Śaivas: to purge this body of its *malas* so that it is merged in Śiva and is beyond all *tattvas* (*tattvātīta*). The conjunction of opposites represents a transcending of the phenomenal world, abolishment of all experience of duality.

At the time of *dīksa* the *sādhaka* should be engaged in that very *vāsanā* (specific subconscious sensations) which is the resultant of his capacity. One who is united in a particular *tattva* does not return from that. He obtains its result and with the faculties of Śiva achieves *nirvāṇa*.[134] Even if not united to Śiva, he attains the highest purification and becomes the lord of *bhuvana*. With the bonds of the world burnt, he attains to *Śivatva* through purification.[135] This is also called *puṃ-dhāraṇā* or *prithvī-dhāraṇā* (concentration on the individual). He does not revert to animality but enjoys the pure self.[136] The *vāsanās* have a potential force; they condition the specific character of each individual. This conditioning corresponds with his heredity and with his *kārmic* situation. In fact, the intransmissible specificity of the individual and the structure of human instincts is produced by the *vāsanās* by the sub-conscious. The sub-conscious is transmitted either "impersonally" (through language, mores, civilization, etc) from generation to generation, or directly through *kārmic* transmigration. The *kārmic* potentials are transmitted through an "animic body", *liṅga* (lit. subtle body). The Āgamas provide for *liṅga-dīkṣā* as these form of action and thought are created by the play of the *vāsanās* and account for our racial and intellectual heritage. It is through *liṅgoddhāra-dīkṣā* that these *vāsanās* are known and "burned".[137]

The funerary rites occupy an important place in the life of Hindus. It was natural to commit to the fire the bodies of those who had died a natural or accidental death. The Āgamas provide for the death-*dīkṣā* (*anteṣṭi-dīkṣā* or *mṛtodhāra-dīkṣā*)[138] of those sādhakas who had not attained the *sabīja* or *nirbīja-nirvāṇa dīkṣā*. Once again the *guru* is shown performing the *anteṣṭi dīkṣā* through his *Śaktipāta* (divine grace/descent of Śakti). In *Śrīdikṣottara Śāsana*,[139] it is stated that those who, out of their negligence, have erred in *Samayācāra*

(the observance of traditional rules), should be initiated when they are dead. The image of the dead is supposed to hover over the dead body. The *Siddhā-Tantra* gives the method of this *dīkṣā*[140] (initiation) at the time of the last rites of a disciple. The *guru* reverses the order of *mantra-varṇas* and destroys the desires of the dead, which, according to another view, is the practice of *Samayīs* and *Putrakas*, such an initiated corpse is either liberated or moves to the vast expanse of consciouness, the *khecarī* state. The Acarya who is well acquainted with *tattvas* needs no *antesti*, as his mind is pure. This, perhaps, suggests that such an *ācārya*, was considered to be liberated and, being identified with Param-Śiva, was buried near a stream. No *maṇḍala* is prepared in the cremation ground. Instead, by means of the *yoga* of annihilation of *tattvas* (*Saṃhārakrama Yoga*), his feet, head, etc are purified. By means of *Mahājalayoga* he attracts the *paśu-tattva* and by his *abheda* (non-duality) subdues them in the heart. He beats all the *kalās* whereafter the *paśu* trembles. In the *Sanyāsikī dīkṣā* the subtle body along with its five *tanmātras* is purified and the *guru* (*daiśika*) performs a hundred *homas* (oblations to fire). Following the non-existence of the material body of the five *tanmātras*, there is neither heaven nor hell. The worldly actions (*laukika kartvya*) cease for such a liberated person.[141]

The *Svacchanda Tantra* counts twelve principal *dīkṣās*.[142] These by virtue of the distinction of *sabīja*, *nirbīja* and *sadyonirvāna* are said to be thirty-six with regard to a *putraka*. For the Ācāryas *sabīja* alone has twelve kinds; to a *sādhaka*, on the basis of the Śivadharmis and Lokadharmīs, there are twenty-four kinds; to a *Samyinī* these are two. In brief, *dīkṣā* is of seventy-four kinds with reference to *jñāna-dīkṣā* and *kriyā-dīkṣā*. Kṣemarāja, in his commentary of *Udyota* to the *Svacchanda Tantra*, raises the issue of *dīkṣā* and its purposiveness. He asks the Bauddhas who do not go beyond their *dīkṣā* —what do you purify? the *ātmā* or *buddhi* (intellect), *malas* or *karmas*, the *ātmas* or *Śaktipata*; who receives *Śaktipata*, the one who is sullied with *malas* or the one without *malas*? Is the *saṃskāra* of the *ātman* freedom from *karmas* or the freedom from pleasure and pain, or the discrimination of *Prakṛti* or the perception of one's true nature of unity? He concludes that *dīkṣā* achieves the *saṃskāra* of the *ātman* and not of the *karmas*, as it removes its contraction and imperfection. It is a process of transmission of Śakti by right knowledge.

The non-Vedic or Tāntric form of worship was open to all irrespective of their age, caste or class and sex. Roughly it

corresponds to the Greek initiatic "rites of knowledge" and begins with the worship of the Tāntric circle (*maṇḍala, mahā-maṇḍala*). The dialectics of initiation works out a synthesis between the disciple, the teacher and the world into the one ultimate reality of *nirvāṇa*. As to the inner aspect of initiation, the *guru* withdraws the *Śisya* from the outside into his own self, awakens the serpent force or the creative power of Śiva in him and unites him with the supreme principle. The bonds of *māyā* are broken, the *paśu* dies never again to take birth.[142] All these procedures, and many more, are only means of realizing the Highest Reality, the immanent, the transcendent, the inexpressible. The experience takes place within consciousness itself. To be initiated and to meditate is to rise to planes of reality inaccessible to the profane. The path of initiation is the path of death and mystical resurrection, absorption in the supreme Reality. In all the *dīkṣās*, the goal is to attain the unconditioned, to emerge from the world (*bhuvanas*), to transcend the profane condition, to move from imperfection to perfection, to re-integrate Māyā into Śiva-Śakti, to re-gain Universal consciousness.

For the Buddhists *Śūnya* is liberation. It means the extinction of both the external gross world and the internal subtle world. There is no distinct consciousness of knower, knowledge and known. Even the momentary successions of ideas (*traikṣaṇik jñāna*) also vanishes. However, for the Śaivas *Śūnya* is a state in which no object is experienced. To them *Śūnya* is no doubt the extinction of the gross world but not of the internal world. The Yogi's return from *samādhi* is a return to consciousness; it is not empty space for him. It is consciousness that remains in that *Śūnyatva* and that is sought to be achieved through initiation. The Śaivas hold that consciouness circumfluent with knowledge (*jñāna*) and action (*kriyā*) is *Ātman* and it is this *caitanya* that binds the *guru* and *śiṣya* and obliterates the difference and distinction of one's own (*sva*) and others.

There is no *bheda* between *ātmā* and *ātmā*. What temporarily obscures the vision of the *śiṣya* is his subconscious latencies (*vāsanās*), *malas*, which, on the contrary, shine as light of intelligence in the *guru*. Although the *Tantras* recognize the human body as the source of all spiritual experience, the Śaivagamas go a step further. *Caitanya* as *Ātmā* holds the central place in its doctrines, which through the merger of the one into the other *tattva*—the return of

all the thirty-six *tattvas* to *Śivatattva*—in the body is ultimately achieved by the initiate (*dīkṣita*). Thus the realization of *Caitanya* is not only consistent with the experiences of the human body but is also in conformity with the tāntric dogma, viz the revitalisation of the human body towards salvation. In fact, the Śaivagamas reconcile the two antagonistic traditions of the Lokayata tāntric tradition of the Bauddhas with that of the brāhamṇic ideal of the soul being independent of the body.

In short, the purification of the elements (*tattvaśuddhi*) animates and informs all the techniques of initiations. We have to emphasize this particular aspect and meaning of cosmic reabsorption. After describing the process of manifestation by Param Śiva, the Āgamas describe the inverse process in which the yogi takes part: he sees the element earth become "subtle" and dissolve in water, water dissolve in fire, fire in ether, etc until everything is reabsorbed into Śiva. The initiate witnesses the reabsorption of these cosmic elements into their respective matrices. In this respect the tāntrist experiences his own death in advance in different body-forms before he is born a *dvija*, in the initiatory sense of the term. His "new birth" is the birth of a Bhairava. Such an initiation leads to *nirvāṇa* and does not require the material substances of sesamum, clarified butter or libations to *yajña*.[144] The *dīkṣā* thus ends up in Bhairava-hood.

NOTES

1. *Tantrasāra*, p. 3, *tattvaśuddhih śivayo janarūpāya dīkṣāyā iti.*
2. Quoted in *TA*, *Āhnika* I, p. 80.
3. *Ibid.*, *Āhnika* XV, V. 9 and comm.
4. *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.
5. This *Svātantrya Śakti* binds herself and dissociates herself from bondage. There is one *karma* which is the chief cause of the world (*IP*, *Āhnika* III, 10).
6. Quoted in *TA*, XIII, 103-105, 123.
7. *NT*, XX; quoted in *TA*, XVI, 59-60.
8. *Ibid.*
9. The other schools give various names: *nirvāṇa*, *asaṃskṛta*, etc.
10. *NT*, XX. 9; *TA*, XVI, 58-62.
11. *SS*, I. 17. comm.
12. *Ibid.*, I. 16; *Lakṣmīkulārṇava* quoted in the commentary of the

verse.

13. *NT*, XX *passim*.
14. *NT*, XIX, 145-152. *Malas* are nothing but the different forms of ignorance (*TA*, XV. 9 and comm.) The bondage of *pāśas* creates three kinds of impurities: *Āṇava-mala* (becoming conscious of the supposed imperfections); the feeling of doer and not that of the knower (*kārma-mala*); observing distinctions between this and that (*māyīya-mala*).
15. *TA*, *Āhnika* I, 69.
16. *Paṭalas*, VII and XI.
17. Quoted in *TA*, *Āhnika*, XIII.
18. *Yoga*, p. 97, opinion cited.
19. *Ibid*.
20. *Svacchanda*, XI. 199.
21. *NT*, XVI, 50-53.
22. *Ibid*., 55-56; *Svacchanda*, IV. 97.
23. *Ibid*., VIII, 29-30; *Mataṅga*, *Vidyāpada*; *Svacchanda*, XI. 199.
24. *Ibid*., IV, I.
25. *Ma Vi Ta*, I. 46; *Sadāśivapada* is obtained through *yoga*, *caryā* or *dīkṣā* (*Mataṅga*, XXVI. 63).
26. *Ibid*., 47.
27. *Ibid*., 44.
28. *Āhnika*, XVI, 304-305; *Ma Vi Ta*, IX passim.
29. quoted in *TA Āhnika*, XVI, 304-308; *Āhnika*, XV; 1.
30. *NT*, VIII, 29-30.
31. *Ma.Vi Ta*, II, 109.
32. *Ma.Vi Ta*, IV. 4.
33. The *jīva* is in bondage because of his *saṃskāras*. The *dīkṣā* that burns the seed of *saṃskāra* is called *nirbīja-dīkṣā*.
34. *Svacchanda*, *Paṭala*, IV. 82.
35. *Ibid*.
36. *Ibid*., 79 ff; *TA*, XV.
37. *Ibid*., *Paṭala*, IV, 79 ff.
38. *Ibid*.
39. *Ibid*., IV. 85, 145.
40. *Ibid*.
41. *Ibid*., IV, 143.
42. *Ibid*., 86.
43. *Ibid*., 87 ff.
44. *Ibid*., IV. 149; *TA*, XV. 31-32.

45. *Ibid.*, 88.
46. *Paṭala*, IV, 90-91.
47. *Sat Br.*, 11.5.4. 12; CF *Manu*, 2. 170.
48. *Svacchanda*, IV, 86-90; *TA*, 24-26.
49. *dehapāte Śivam Vrajet* quoted in *TA*, I, p.
50. *TA*, X, 31-32.
51. *Ibid.*, 33-34.
52. Owing to the different objectives of the *sādhakas*, there are different initiations, depending upon the predominance of some *adhvās* to the rest: *yatra yatra hi bhogācchatatprādhān-yopayogatah anyāntrabhāvanātascha dîkṣānantavibhedabhāk*, *TA*, XVI, 185 ff.
53. *Ma Vi Ta*, IX *passim*.
54. quoted in *TA*, XIII, 103-105.
55. *Svacchanda*, IV. 468.
56. *Mā Vi Ta*, IX 79.
57. Cf. *Kulārṇava Tantra*, vv. 89-90 ed. Arthur Avalon.
58. *Infra*.
59. *Svacchanda*, IV 93-96; X, XII, *passim*.
60. *Ibid.*, 97 ff.
61. *Kalādhvā* is the aggregate of the five subtle *tattvas* in the thirty-six tattvas.
62. *Svacchanda*, IV. 97 ff.
63. In the Tantras *Kalā-dīkṣā* is described to be of three kinds; *Ānavī*, *Śakti* and *Śāmbhavi*.
64. *Svacchanda*, V. iff. For a detailed description of the thirty-six *tattvas*, see *Ṣaṭrtriṁśattattvasandoha*, *passim*.
65. *Ma Vi Ta*, VI, 28; II. 54.
66. *Ibid.*, XVIII 79-80.
67. *Vijñanabhairava Vivṛtti*, p. 47.
68. *Mā Vi Ta*, II. 60; *Svacchanda*, V, 86.
69. *Ibid.*, I.
70. *Ibid.*, 10-11.
71. *Mā Vi Ta*, II. 12.
72. *Tantrasāra*, p. 63.
73. *Ibid.*, p. 3; *Svacchanda*, V, *Passim*; comm. *Svacchanda*, V, pp. 72-99.
74. *Svacchanda*, V, comm., p. 72.
75. *Ibid.*, *Bhuvana-dīkṣā* is described at length in the tenth *paṭala* of *Svacchanda*. Also see seventh and eleventh *paṭalas*.

76. *Mā Vi Ta*, V, iff; 33-34.
77. *Ibid.*, V, 34-35.
78. *Svacchanda*, X, 6 ff.
79. *Ibid.*, X 31 ff.
80. *Ibid.*, 53 ff; *Vijñānabhairava*, 123.
81. *Ibid.*
82. *Ibid.*, 59-61, 68: *Puṁsatattvabhuvanava sāre paurusa ye pāśah.*
83. *Svacchanda*, X. 349 ff.
84. *Āhnikas*, XV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XIX XX, XXII; XXIV, *passim*.
85. *Svacchanda*, IV 78-79 and comm.
86. *Tantrasāra*, pp. 29-30; *Śivasutra Vimarśinī*, p. 174.
87. *TA*, XV 493-494.
88. *TA*, XV, 609-612; *Mā Vi Ta*, VIII, 134. It appears that the Śaivāgamas were largely influenced by Tāntric Buddhism which is largely derived from popular beliefs and practices.
89. *Āhnika*, XV.
90. *Jayā Sam.*, XVI. 61.
91. *Svacchanda*, IV, 100 comm.
92. *Ibid.*, XVIII. 34-35; *Svacchanda*, IV, 100; *Supra*.
93. *Ibid.*, IV 100 ff.
94. *Ibid.*, IV, 145-146;*TA*, XV, 25-6.
95. *Ibid.*, 146 comm.
96. *Ibid.*, IV 147.
97. *Ibid.*, 148.
98. *Ibid.*
99. *MT*, *Vidyāpāda*, VII, *passim*.
100. *TA*, XVI, 296-297.
101. *Ibid.*, 297-298.
102. *Ibid.*, 299-300.
103. *Śiśu* stands for the newly born *Sādhaka*.
104. *Ibid.*, 300-301.
105. *Ibid.*, 302.
106. *Ibid.*, 303-304.
107. *Svacchanda*, IV 83-91.
108. *Mā Vi Ta*, IX 34-39.
109. *Āhnika*, XVII.
110. *Mā Vi Ta*, IX 52.
111. *Ibid.*, 53.
112. *Ibid.*, 79; *TA*, XVII, 91.
113. *TA*, *Āhnik* XVII 54-62. The merging of *tattvas* in *viloma* order

is described in the same *Āhnika* (vv. 64 ff; *Svacchanda*, V, 61 ff).

114. *Ibid.*, 63.
115. *Ibid.*, 94-95; *Supra*.
116. *Ibid.*, 95-96.
117. *TA*, XIX *passim*.
118. *Ibid.*, 2-3. Abhinavagupta states that this had been experienced by his *guru*, Śrī Śambhunatha.
119. *Ibid.*, 4-6.
120. *Ibid.*, 26.
121. *Ibid.*, 29.
122. *Mā Vi Ta*, XVII 25.
123. *TA*, XX 8, 1.
124. *Ibid.*, 6 ff.
125. Cited in *TA*, Vol X, p. 211, *Āhnika*, XX.
126. *Ibid.*, 14 and comm.
127. *TA*, comm, XX 14.
128. *TA*, XX I, *passim*.
129. *Ma Vi Ta*, 1, 44.
130. *Ibid.*, 45.
131. *TA*, XXI 6 ff.
132. *TA*, XXII 6 ff, comm.
133. *Ibid.*, 22-24.
134. *Ibid.*, 33 ff.
135. *Ibid.*, XXI 43 ff.
136. *Ibid.*, comm.
137. *Ma Vi Ta*, XX, 40.
138. *Ibid.*, 41-42.
139. *TA*, XXII, 7.
140. *Ibid.*, XXII, *passim*.
141. Quoted in *Ta*, XXIV *passim*.
142. Cited in *TA*, XXIV, 4.
143. *Ibid.*, XXIV, 6 ff *loc. cit.*
144. quoted in *TA*, XXIV, 7 ff.

4

Rituals and their Observances

Throughout the Āgamas the inseparable Śakti of Śiva occupies a dominant position at every stage of *sādhanā*. At the cosmic stage the *Parāśakti* is the supreme Śakti of the Lord, which, as *icchāśakti*, evolves as the holy impulse of manifesting the world, as *jñānaśakti*, gives the determinate knowledge, and, as *kriyāśakti* assumes any and every form. Śiva is the first syllable of a *mantra* (*bījamantra*) and Śakti the womb (*yoni*).[1] Everything is Śambhu-Śakti. It has eight categories beginning from Aghora (Śiva) and similarly eight through the distinction of Śakti: Māheśī, Brāhmaṇī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Aindrī, Yāmyā, Cāmuṇḍā, and Yogīśī.[2] As regards the universe of sound, Śakti appears as *Pūrvamālinī* representing the alphabet from 'a' to 'kṣa'.[3] This would suggest that it was only in Śaktism, basically a religion of the masses, that the earlier tantric ideas and practices were able to thrive. Its practical and functional aspects were controlled by lower *varṇas* of society; its flexible and heterodox character was modified by the brāhmaṇas to suit their sophisticated *sādhanā* and the interests of a particular social class, formulating special forms of *dīkṣā* (initiation), etc. The concept of Śakti in its various forms,[4] the awakening of *kuṇḍalinī by* yoga, the idea of deities presiding over the different parts of the body and their outward symbolic representation by means of mystic diagrams, the different *ācāras* (conducts) followed in worship, the recitation of *mantras*, the necessity of rituals, the spiritual discipline in company with women, etc were recognized as fundamental principles in achieving union with Śiva. Many other features of the earlier system of tantrism were retained. Though the Vedic rituals

did not find much favour with the Śaivas, they were yet adapted within the framework of tantric rituals as these were regarded part of popular piety (*laukika dharma*).[5] Even now most of the rituals of Śaivas are a bequest of varied traditions, especially from the rite of the conception (*garbhādhāna saṃskāra*) to the marriage *saṃskāra*.[6] The Śaivas still hold these *saṃskāras* as essential to the outward growth of social organisation and consider them as basic to the performance of all ceremonies in the *dharma* of *kulas* and *jātis*. Far from being a complex of diverse elements assorted rather loosely, the Śaivas owned the twenty-four *saṃskāras* of the Āryans and made these a part of their religious observances.[7] There is nothing to suggest that the Tantric practices of Kashmir, unlike those of the Kāpālika Śaivas or Pāśupatas were, in any way, hostile to Vedic rituals and ceremonies. Rather, these seem to have been absorbed by the Saivas with whom the fire-ritual formed an important basis of all the other rituals. The tantric mantras were superimposed on Vedic mantras in such rituals or were combined to suit their *homas* and *yāgas*. The relation of the Vedic mantra with a rite to which it was assigned was mainly governed by selection, for the purpose seems to have been to find some affinity with the tantric ritual, whereas in the *Varṇāśrama dharma* and *karma-kāṇḍa* most of the periodic and daily observances were performed according to Vedic rituals. The Tantras provided that these should be followed by tantric observances.[8] It is likely that in its early stages of social intercourse, Tantrism found it difficult to do away entirely with the Vedic priests whose services seem to have been engaged when they were invited to a sacrifice. They were held in great esteem for being the custodians of a Vedic tradition, which, it seemed to them, did not conflict with the ordinary *dharma* of an individual.[9] But in other matters, particularly of attaining *mokṣa* etc, the Śaivas were reluctant to compromise with it. Even with regard to the Vedic rites from those of conception to the third year after birth,[10] they had their own methods of purification.[11] Although these *saṃskāras* were not disapproved or ranked low, the tantrics regarded their own means of purification of a much superior status to those of the twenty-four *saṃskāras* that were approved in Vedic circles. Perhaps they did not surrender their privilege of accepting officiating fees for the performance of various rituals for their patrons. Nor did they discredit or raise any objection against Vedic rituals so long as their own material interests did not suffer any change. The

injunction of performing both the Vedic and above it the tantric rituals lends support to our view.[12] A combination of the two modes of worship (*miśrita*) is also hinted at in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*.[13] This shows that originally the tantrics did not accept the recitation of various Vedic mantras (hymns) on the occasion of the performance of different rituals, but followed their own tradition. However, with the adoption of the fire-rituals and the identification of popular divinities with the Vedic ones, a synthesis in the rituals of worship led to the harmonisation of Vedic rituals and traditions with the *yantra* and *maṇḍala* worship of the tantrics. While the symbolic diagrams (*yantra*) represented verbal behaviour and mental functions (*citt*), a *maṇḍala* was a consecrated place free from disintegrating forces. The place was thus kept pure for ritual and liturgic ends. The tantric rituals and practices were evolved in the earliest stages of social development, and they "belong to a type of thought that is primitive."[14] The archaic practices of the tantrics relate to the underlying order of nature and of society.

It was a common belief, shared by most people of the world, that the gross body we can see and touch, contains within it a subtle body scarcely perceptible to our senses. The tantra ideology developed this thought into an internal dynamics, the individual becoming a very significant element in the tantric tradition. The instincts, impulses, aspirations, etc of the individual were sought to be so organized, as to function effectively and unilaterally to overcome his natural limitations. The actions involved in this organization or reintegration are the 'rituals'. They are symbolic and suggestive. Thus the pattern of actions corresponding to the pattern of the inner field-forces (*dhātus*, *doṣas* and *malas*) is sought to be achieved by an organisation of behavioural acts —a synthesis of psychical energetics within the individual. As the Ayurveda makes use of the word 'tantra' in the sense of body and 'yantra' in the sense of its machinery, the rituals aim at the yoking of actions to the field-forces within, to help the individual in getting his gross body transformed into the one that is able to transcend his phenomenal limitations to attain natural efficiency more purposefully. This is exactly what *yoga* wants to achieve and the *tantra* seeks to realize. In a way *tantra* and *yoga* become meaningful only as expedients in the reorganisation of the internal forces within the individual. A process of relating the *yantra* (unusual patterns) with *mantra* (uncommon formulae) starts operating in

both the gross and subtle body through rituals.

For the origin of these tantric rituals we have to turn to the concept of Bhairava who is regarded as *Māṭrkā Bhairava* to be worshipped in 'a' varga (class) and *Bhairavī* in 'ka' varga, etc, the two together constituting the *bīja* (seed) and *yoni* (womb) that causes the external manifestation of the world and its dissolution. The worship of Bhairava, the presiding deity of *Māṭṛkās*, was to be performed with sixteen letters from 'a' to 'ah' and that of Bhairavī, an inseparable part of Śiva, with the letter 'ka' to 'kṣa'[15] according to the *Māṭṛkā Krama*. Mantras inhere in these letters, which are used in performing the worship. In the eight groups of letters (*varṇas*) beginning with *a* to *ka, ca, ta, ta, pa, ya, sa* are Mahālakṣmī, Mahesani, Kumārika, Nārāyaṇī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā, also called Brāhmī, Māheśvarī, Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Vārāhī, Aindrī, Cāmuṇḍā—the seven Māṭṛkās. Worship of these is accompanied by *āsana, mantra, mūrti*, etc. The introduction of Māṭṛkā worship suggests that from the very beginning the Śaivas were worshippers of Śakti as an integral part of Bhairava, the mystical formulae and rites about whom were supposed to lead to the fulfilment of all desires.[16] In our opinion the *Saptamāṭṛkā* ritual corresponded with the traditions of a non-Vedic culture based on agricultural economy in which Bhairava played a very important role as sustainer and preserver. The worship of *Māṭṛkās* indicates that fecundity rites played the key role in an economy where Māṭṛkābhairava and not simply Bhairava was worshipped. These people must have very early understood the importance of worshipping female energy in conjunction with the male energy. This, of course, forms the basic conceptual foundation of Tantrism, which conceives the power of the Supreme Being as a Female (Śakti) principle through which the manifestation of the Universe is effected.

The ancient cities of Harappa and Mohenjodaro have yielded various art objects of which a large number of male and female figurines are prominent and provide a clue to the worship of some form of a 'mother-goddess'. The female figurines are adorned with profuse jewellery and pannier-like arrangements on each side of their head. Some of the panniers are stained with smoke, possibly due to the burning of incense or oil in them. The common occurrence of these figurines in the Indus valley culture would suggest that they represented the "Mother Goddesses" who were

worshipped in India in the third millennium B.C. and whose cult was also popular in the near Middle East in ancient times. Mackay is of the opinion that these figurines were housed in ancient Harappan cities, probably in a recess and on a bracket as well.[17] Terracotta figurines of "Mother Goddess" at Mohenjodaro and Harappa (National Museum, Karachi) are characterized by a peculiarly long head dress, upright postures and jewelled ornaments, showing their lively appearance. Hand-made and often very crude, the female figures suggest some type of a female cult, often identified as "Mother-Goddess worship". A few seals from Harappa bear seven apparently female figures. A fragmentary terracotta seal contains in the lower half a row of seven standing human figures with tall head dresses, numerous bangles adorning their hands. They are said to represent mother goddesses. Another tablet from Mohenjodaro is impressed with a scene depicting seven human figures, standing in a row above, and a goat-drawn vehicle driven by a man below, approaching most probably a tree spirit, which also confirms the existence of the worship of what may be called the *Saptamātṛkās* in the Harappan times. There are other terracotta seals also with almost similar art motifs. A terracotta seal from Mohenjodaro shows a deity in a stylised tree with a kneeling human worshipper behind whom stands a ram.[18] The tree spirit is apparently nude but has a pair of horns. In the register below are seven ministrants/officiants, wearing a long pig tail and a feather-like spray of leaves in the hair. The worshipper has a similar head-dress and like the deity and the seven ministrants is adorned with many bangles. Beyond the base of the tree, on the right, is a receptacle, probably intended for offerings to the deity, here possibly the ram to be sacrificed on the occasion. The opinion of Father Heras that the seven officiants are the possible victims for the sacrifice is wrong.[19] The view of Ramachandran that the seven officiants correspond to the seven *hotās* officiating at a certain Vedic sacrifice[20] is also equally unconvincing. To us the seven officiants/ministrants correspond to the Sapta-mātṛkās of the Purāṇic tradition and the ram behind the worshipper seems to have been intended for the sacrificial offering.

Scholars have, however, expressed doubts about how these sculptures were used and what they represented. The available evidence of these female figures is not treated as definitive whether

the female is a goddess or even a mother. The aptness of this designation of or "Mother Goddess" has, therefore, been questioned. And so also the few male figures found mostly nude, bearded and wearing long hair at the back, modelled by hand and painted bright red, are not regarded as proto-types of Śiva. At best we might go so far as to say that implied in every female figure is the concept of motherhood, actual or potential. It may be assumed that the popularity of the female as a subject in terracotta art is associated with the ideas of motherhood and hence fertility, procreation and continuity of life, although the presence of any divine status is unknown. Nonetheless, the meaning associated with female images of this early date remains uncertain. Possibly the phenomena of procreation was associated with early agricultural societies dependant upon the bounty of nature for their well-being and survival. Eternal or universal symbolism was perhaps intended by the objects of *'yoni'*, the door through which one is born and the *'liṅga'*, the procreative aspect of the universe, the means by which the endless cycle of birth, death and re-birth occur. The realization of non-duality symbolized by the combination of male and female principles thus represents one of the essential features of later Buddhist and Hindu thought. The idea of fecundity is also found in the Maurya-Śunga Yakṣiṇī, which are not known to have occurred before the Kuṣāṇa period at Mathura.

Though there is no conclusive evidence of the existence of an independent powerful goddess in the Vedic literature, scholars, however, see a hymn from the *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda* as referring to Agni having seven mothers, and another hymn relating to the preparation of Soma juice by Saptamātṛkās. The seven rays of the Sun-God are taken to correspond to the seven flames of Agni and Vāk-devatā as identical in character to Vāṇī, a goddess that multiplies herself at will into seven mothers. Thus they try to establish the antiquity of Saptamātṛkās in the early Vedic period.[21] The references to the seven mothers of Agni, the seven rays of the Sun-god, the appearance of Vāk-devatā as a mother goddess associated with all the gods, the Sapta-Vāṇih in the *Ṛgveda*,[22] may point towards the tendency of the assimilation of the cults of mother goddesses during the Ṛgvedic and Yajurvedic times. We find the evolution of the mother goddess cult in different regions,[23] finally contributing to their emergence of a generalized framework, which facilitated such absorption. Although the mother-

goddess cult seems to have a very old history, its representation in sculpture is found only after the beginning of the Christian era. We have a few Mathura specimens ascribable to the Kuṣāṇa period. Its full development starts from the Gupta period onwards. The Saptamatrkas are mentioned in Gupta inscriptions and become common after the sixth-seventh century A.D. In Kashmir also the mother-goddess cult seems to have developed during the same period, and we have a number of Sapta-mātṛkā panels from different archaeological sites.[24]

A great mystical significance is attached to number seven in India as in other parts of the world. We have seven goddesses which appear to represent the seven sacred rivers of India, which are frequently mentioned as Saptasindhu in the Vedas. It is likely that both the people of the Indus Valley and the Āryans revered them as mother-goddesses. The reason is obvious. They were called *Mātṛs* for it was from the depths of these waters that the 'sun' was seen from the shores of the Saptasindhu to arise and ascend the sky.[25] The Nīlamata-Purāṇa legend (5th-6th century A.D.) seems to support the Ṛgvedic idea of lifting Sūrya out of the sea where he lay hidden.[26] We find the gods virtually lifting the sun from the Satisaras and causing blinding darkness for the water-born demon there. The same Purāṇa also refers to the various river-goddesses, riding to Kashmir on their *vāhanas*, the detailed description of which suggests that the waters were invoked as mothers and goddesses (*mātarah, ambayah* and *devih*). Though the number here exceeds seven and we find a large number of them riding in full majesty, the Vitastā and the Sarasvatī in particular are invoked again and again to take their place of precedence and honour in a land reclaimed from the Satisaras and freed from the havoc wrought by the Jalodbhavas (water-born-demons). The oft-mentioned rivers of the Vedas, the Īrāvatī, Chandrabhāgā, Vitastā, Vipaśā, Śatradru, Sindhu, Sarasvatī, figure prominently in the text, indicating the importance of these mother goddesses.[27] The *Nīlamata Purāṇa* echoes the Purāṇic theme of the killing of the fierce demons of Sumbha and Niśumbha in the form of Jalodbhava of Satisaras[28] and endorses the legendary narrative of the destruction of Andhakāsura in the *Varāha Purāṇa*[29] where Śiva is said to have used his Yogeśvari Śakti along with the Śaktis of other gods to kill the fierce demon. A slightly different version of these Śaktis being created by Brahmā to kill Nirrta is found in

Suprabhedāgama.[30] *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* puts their number as eight, including the Yogeśvarī Śakti of Śiva.[31] Almost all the Purāṇas agree that the gods had to use their Śakti to overcome their fierce opponents, the *Rākṣasas* (demons). The same theme is reproduced in the *Nīlamata* where the principal gods had to use their Śaktis in killing the terrible Jalodbhava.[32]

The literary evidence would thus suggest that the concept of mother goddesses in the form of the worship of seven deities had evolved in the remote past in most parts of the world, a fact suggestive of its common origin. Their sculptural representation might have followed much later in a sedentary civilisation. Literary evidence of the Vedas, Purāṇas, together with archaeological evidence available in Mohenjodaro and Harappan cities and a few Mathura specimens (the earliest in point of time), and the subsequent popularity of the cult under the Guptas, the Chalukyas and the Kadambas leads us to believe that the Saptamātṛkā cult became widely popular in different parts of the country. A peculiar significance seems to be attached to the worship of the seven rivers as mother goddesses in the Ṛgveda,[33] the seven Hathors of the Egyptian mythology,[34] of the beneficent *anunnaki* spirits and seven *utukki* demons of the sea in Babylonian mythology.[35]

It is evident that Saptamātṛkās were essentially water-deities, whose worship was universal throughout ancient and African countries. That tradition is still survived today in Kashmir where Satrsis (seven celestial springs) are worshipped as water-deities on all occasions of pilgrimages to the various *tīrthas* and the thread ceremony of the Paṇḍits who offer seven dishes of sweet rice mixed with milk (*divca-tabcas*) served in earthen pots.

Mother-goddess worship in the form of *mātṛcakras*[36] (circles to Mothers) is also referred to by Kalhaṇa. Īśānadevī, the queen of Jalauka, the son of Aśoka, is said to have established these *Cakras* (centres) at the frontiers of Kashmir.[37] It seems that each of these mystical diagrams, carved in stone, had a characteristic colour, a number of petals (when pictured as a lotus), an elemental association, a symbol, a female figure, and possibly a representative animal as her *vāhana*. This would imply a tantric influence as early as the third century B.C. when the concept of mother-goddess worship was prevalent amongst the frontier-tribes of Kashmir. The frequent references to *mātṛcakras* down to the period of Avantivarman indicates the importance these mystical

diagrams[38] drawn in honour of each mother goddess had gained even in the time of Aśoka's successors. As most of these *mātṛcakras* are associated either with queens or sorceresses, it seems that females played an important role in their worship. Possibly under the influence of local queens, the rulers might have respected the social customs and traditions of the people living in and around the borders of Kashmir. Curiously, the situation of these *mātṛcakras* in different quarters of Kashmir suggests their wider sphere of influence and popularity with the people. The references to the circle of Mothers (*Mātṛcakras*) have been variously interpreted by scholars. Goetz takes them to be the round temples of Mothers, while Stein considers them to be the mystical diagrams, circles sacred to the Mothers, placed at the gates and other places.[39]

The passages in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* indicate that mystical diagrams in the form of *yantras* (unusual patterns) were drawn upon stone-slabs or rocks which were consecrated in the name of the mothers, followed by some sacrifice, the human sacrifice being a more acceptable form of offering.[40] It seems that some magical formula was devised to represent the various śaktis of a mother-goddess, which might have assumed the shape of a circular *maṇḍala* containing the seed-syllabi (*bījākṣara*) in different segments of the *cakra*. The reference to a sorceress offering the body of a king on the occasion of consecrating such a temple containing the *yantra* would suggest that the mother goddess was propitiated through a *bali* of human blood with which these *yantras* (mystical formulae) were made effective.

The tantric rituals are pre-eminently represented in art motifs. A few terracotta specimens from Souvra (Surus-Vihār), Surteng (Rainawari), Hawal, Harwan (all in Srinagar) of the period between fifth - seventh centuries emphasize exclusively the copulative aspect of the male-famale union. The wide range of the prevalence of the Śaiva tantric cult in different parts of the valley in the immediate pre-Gupta or the early Gupta period and afterwards is fully proved by the archaeological data discovered at Ferozpur *Draṅg, Koṭi-Tīrtha,* Sheri Fatehgarh (Baramulla), Devasara, Shopian. Pandrethan and its environs suggest that both Buddhist tantrism and Śaiva tantrism found a fertile soil for their tantric practices amongst the nobility and the gentry of the then city of Pravarapura and Śrīnagarī where both the Buddhist and Śaiva Tantric *gurus* had no difficulty in finding wealthy patrons. A

careful scrutiny of the potsherds reveals that tantrism was in a flourishing condition between the fifth to seventh centuries of the Christian era. The importance of the tantric worship was fully recognized in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods. The terracotta pieces found in large numbers clearly establish that tantrism had progressed well and tantric worship had become very popular. From the Souvra find we have a human couple in copulation. The male wears an ascetic cap and bears a ladle (*śruk*) in his right hand; he is seated cross-legged. The female is in an aggressive posture, holding her arms round his neck.[41] Another potsherd shows a royal couple in copulation. There is a phallus mark incised in deep lines below.[42] Of special interest is the anthropomorphic form of a *kinnara* (semi-divine beings supposed to be the musicians of gods) couple. These are the human-headed birds in a kissing posture. The female's plait of hair is drawn backwards.[43] Another art motif depicts a nude human couple engaged in the act of copulation. The female is in the lap of the male.[44] A highly realisitc representation of human couple in copulation is found on one of the icons in which the male is wearing a turban-like head gear and the female's knotted hair is curled at the top. The male is holding the left breast of the female in his hand; they are engaged intensely in the act of kissing each other.[45] Another icon represents a couple of semi-nude male and female ascetics, probably the *Vīra* and the *Yoginī*. The male wears a beard and an ascetic cap. He is holding a *śruk* in his right hand. The female's breasts and hips are prominently shown with her arms around the neck of the *Vīra*. She is in an aggressive mood, with the *sārī* tied round her loins.[46] An important innovation in tantric iconography of this period is the symbolic representation of *Vīra* in the form of a lion,[47] pouncing upon a female, most probably a *Yoginī*. The icon depicts the lion with its mouth wide open, mane upwards, the hooked tail raised in the air. The female is lying with her face to the ground. This art motif probably suggests the copulation of a *Vīra* and *Yoginī*, indicating the significance of semen virile (*mahāvīrya*) and the procreative power of the *Vīra* in the form of a lion. A common motif came across in the find spots of Hawal, Souvra and Surteng are the icons showing nude human couples, joyfully dancing.[48] From the same source we have a human couple shown enjoying music. The female is playing on a musical instrument locally known as *Ek-tārā* and the male on a flute.[49] From the animal kingdom we have a pair of aquatic birds,

probably geese, depicted in a playful mood, drawing closer to each other, with their beaks joined together. The scene is set in a lake with aquatic plants in it.[50] Thus the whole belt from Vicārnag to Amruhar (covering an area of 4 square kms) abounds in rich deposits of tantric icons, similar art motifs being spread in other parts of the valley to the north and south of it. The themes have been selected from ordinary life and have a close bearing on the purpose of primitive sex-rites of fertility and Tantrism. Things sexual were not inconsistent with the life of the Śaiva Sādhakas with whom it served an important ritualistic purpose. We have nude females in close embrace with males or with legs wide apart and sex-organs grossly indicated. Almost the same type of art representation has come across in the animal kingdom. These must have some connection with fertility concepts. The Tantras ascribe a spiritual motivation and have ennobled and divinized sex. This is called *Vīra-bhāva*. It has been characterized as 'the profound pagan instinct to glorify the generative impulse with religious rite'.[51]

The tantric iconography of divine couples (in Tibetan: *YabYam* 'father-mother'), of innumerable forms of *Vīras* embraced by their *Yoginīs*, constitutes the exemplary model of *maithuna*. In imitation of divine model-Śiva, the Pure Spirit is motionless and serene amid the cosmic play; all the activity is on the side of Sakti. The partner in the sexual rite (*maithuna*) becomes a goddess, as the yogin must incarnate the god. *Maithuna* serves, in the first place, to make *samādhi* stable, through rhythmic respiration and concentration. Unlike the promiscuous relations of the animals, sexual union is transformed into a ritual through which the human couple becomes a divine couple.

Employment of sex imagery is frequent in the tantric lore. Here again a primitive thought seems to be at work. It was feared that exhalation of the bodily air and ejaculation of the seminal fluid would end in drying up the sap of life and hasten death. It was felt necessary to restrain vital breath and arrest the seminal discharge in order to prolong life. *Prāṇāyāma* techniques of breath control and various other *mudrās*, including the one called *yoni-mudrā*, were devised to prevent the *bindu* reaching fire (ejaculation). It is understandable that the *yoga-tantra* attempted to understand sex and harnessed the sexual drive to attain spiritual objectives. Thus the two aspects of an individual's life attracted the attention of the tantras: breathing and sex. The tantrics, therefore, employed sex

not for direct gratification, but for *paravrtti* (reversal) and *saṃyama dharana* (restraint). Its expression depended upon individual maturity, motivation and mental habits. The several erotic art motifs suggest that only highly advanced initiates were introduced to the practice of copulation on their way to the final stage of *samādhi* (contemplation). For a novice such a mystic practice could hardly have been permissible as unbridled sexual indulgence would not be only dangerous but definitely lead to his fall, rather than conditioning his mind and spirit to a life free from the normal instincts, impulses and inhibitions of an ordinary human being. There seems to have been considerable experimentation before it was recommended for *Vīras* and *Yogīnis*. It would thus appear that the methods of copulation were stylized and set as norms after carefully examining the psycho-mental stream of the aspirants to *sādhanā*, though the chances of occasional misuse of the practice and unrestrained sexual indulgence cannot be totally ruled out. The *Parātriṃśika*[52] echoes the sentiment of Vajrayāna and holds that the joy of quick *samādhi* can be achieved and perpetuated through coitus with Yoginis who were equally advanced in their yogic practices. "Prepared for the performance of the *maithuna* by the meditation and the ceremonies that make it possible and fruitful, he (i.e. the *Yogin*) considers the *Yoginī*, his companion and mistress, under the name of some Bhagavatī, as the substitu:. and the very essence of Tārā, sole source of joy and rest. The mistress synthesizes the entire nature of woman; she is mother, sister, wife, daughter; in her voice, demanding lover, the officiant recognizes the voices of the Bhagavatīs supplicating Vajradhara, Vajrasattva. Such for both the Śaiva and Bauddha tantric schools is the way of salvation, of *bodhi*.[53] The woman chosen for this rite is not an ordinary woman of orgies." The *mudrā*, wife of the yogin, chosen according to established rules, offered and consecrated by the *guru* must be young, beautiful, and learned; with her, the disciple will perform the ceremony, scrupulously observing the *śikṣās*: for if no salvation is possible without love (*strivyatirekena*), bodily union does not suffice to bring salvation.[54] The practice of *paramitās*, the goal of *kriyā*, must not be separated from it; let the *sādhaka* love the *mudrā* according to the rites; *natikāmayet striyam*. We have a number of references to the sexual union in the Vedic religion.[55] A prostitute (*puṃscali*) engages in ritual intercourse with a *māgadha* (or with a *brahmācari*) on the occasion of the *vrātyastoma* (a special

sacrifice of the *Vrātyas*). If the *Vrātyas*[56] are to be identified as Śivaistic ascetics (Char-pentier) or as the precursors of the Yogins (Hauer, *Dar Vrātyas*, pp. 290 ff), we will not be far too wrong to assume them as the Vīras of our *tantras*. The texts treating of the *vrātyastoma* and the *mahāvrata* (solistitial rite in which a number of archaic elements survive) show these Śivaistic ascetics wearing turbans, dressed in black, carrying two ramskins on their shoulders, a sharp-pointed stick (prototype of the Śivaistic *śūla*),[57] and an un-strung bow (*jyāhroda*). Eliade finds a close parallel to the stick-lance and the bow of these ascetics amongst the Shamans of Asia.[58] The *vrātyastoma* ceremony denotes a number of elements of archaic fertility magic, which, in course of time, developed into a mystical technique in the Śaivāgamas. The *Vīras* and *Vīrāyoginīs* remind us of an earlier practice and ritual in which fertility rites played an important part. The Vīrayoginī Sampradāya seems to have developed out of these ascetics who, at one time, performed the *Vrātyastoma* ceremony and wore a peculiar dress characteristic of their order for their restoration to the brāhmaṇic society. The *Vīras* adopted copulation as a means (*yukti*) to achieve joy (*ānanda*). The object of their getting the identity of enjoyment in a sea of consciousness (*khecarī-sāmya*) was to get absorbed in *samādhi* (enstasis). By arresting semen and breath, the *Vīras* seem to have achieved immobility of thought, which experience ultimately led them to the inexpressible experience of the discovery of unity. The great semen (*mahā-vīrya*) was thus the secret of their joy. *Virayoginis* got the touch of energy or śakti (*śāktasparśa*) which transformed their being. The mystic experience of the *Vīras* and *Vīrayoginīs* homologized them to Śiva-Śakti union that results in His manifestation. Sex rite was thus the outstanding ritual of the Śaivas to consubstantiate the human couple to the divine couple. Abhinavagupta therefore talks of *mahāvīrya* as containing within itself the secret of self-realization.

On the emergence of spontaneous supreme knowledge occurs that state of movement in the vast unlimited expanse of consciousness which is Śiva's state i.e. the Supreme state of Reality.[59] Here on the cosmic level Maheśānī is the Śakti of the creator of the world and is said to be in constant and intimate union with Him, and becomes the desire (*icchā*) of that lord desirous to create.[60] On the human level the *Yoginī* becomes the desire of the *Vīra* to create. Where the vital energy (*prāṇa*) and the vital *vyāna*

that goes in downwards towards the anus (*apāna*) are united, the *Vīrayoginīs* achieve the union of Śiva and Śakti. This identity of consciousness and the identical state in which all differentiation has disappeared is *Khecarī Sāmya*. Briefly stated, the *Vīra* may be symbolically represented as *Akula* (Śiva) and *Yoginī Kula* (Śakti manifesting herself in thirty-six tattvas). The siddhi thus achieved is called *Kaulika siddhi*.[61] The discipline for attaining to the supreme is called *kulamārga*. This constitutes the most important ritual of the tantrics as by the *khecarī cakra*[62] (the group of the Śakti that move in the consciousness of the empirical subject) one is reduced from the position of an all-knowing consciousness to that of a limited experient (*pramātā*) and the same *khecarī sāmya* leads to the union of Śiva-Śakti, from being to knowing in the sexual ritul of *Vīrayoginīs*. This is how the Samādhi "without support" (*asaṃprajñāta samādhi*) by means of great energy (*mahā-vīrya*) gives *Kaulika-siddhi*. In fact it is the Śakti, or more precisely the primary *Icchā Śakti*, that appears as the entire universe in the form of *mātṛkā* (the letter and word-power as the basis of all knowledge) and *Malīnī* with a variety of fifty letters with the *Icchā Śakti* (Divine will power) taking the leading part. In the *Malīnī* order (*Krama*) it is the Śakti of letters which holds the entire universe within itself.[63]

The *Dhyānabindu Upaniṣad*[64] refers to the arrest of semen in the tantric fashion. Thus it is said of him who accomplishes the *Khecarī-mudrā* that "his semen never wastes away, when he is in the embrace of a beautiful woman".[65] The *Khecarī Sāmya* ritual seems to have been a highly secret erotic practice, the purpose of which was to obtain the unification of the two apparent polar principles (Śiva and Śakti), the transcending of all opposites. It is the dialectics of the seemingly two contradictory metaphysical principles like matter and energy held together by a nucleus. Dialectical spiritualism views the immanent and transcendent aspects of Param Śiva as the throb of Śiva and the expansion of Śakti, which when synthesized, coalesces into *Parasaṃvit* in which the ever-moving cycle of manifestation and dissolution goes on uninterruptedly and simultaneously.

The initiatory rites pursue the creation of a "mystical body" and the *saṃskāra* laid down for it is known as *Caitanya Saṃskāra*.[66] The initiatory rebirth is defined by the *Svacchanda Tantra* as access to Bhairavajāti, to a mode of being where the distinctions of a brāhmaṇa, a kṣatriya, a vaiśya or a śūdra cease altogether.[67] It is the

archaic and universal symbolism of initiation, a symbolism documented in the tantric tradition (where the initiate is called the "bhairava"). The ceremony presupposes the spiritual mental projection of the practitioner into metaphysical plane, beyond space and time.[68] The regeneration is a new birth, free from the bonds of ignorance (*mala*); it is the consciousness of *Cittananda* (the joy of pure consciousness) called *Śūnya* (void), which, in fact, is not a void but a state, free from thought constructs, without the division of *pramātā-prameya* (subject and object).[69] The purpose of all religious exercises, Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, is to free the consciousness from the bondage with facts or to change the transactional consciousness into deeper and hidden levels of consciousness. The Śaivāgamas recognise that the transactional consciousness, being world-bound, is unstable and passive, whereas the higher consciousness, freed from the bondage with facts, is what Buddha once observed, 'stable and happy'.

The *Caitanya-Saṃskāra* is, in fact, the initiatory symbolism of sacrifice, which in the *Aitareya Brāhmaṇa* (1, 3) is emphasized by its sexual and gynaecological symbolism.[70] The *Svacchanda Tantra* expounds the *saṃskāra* in detail.[71] The earth is cleaned with water and then worshipped. The *guru* next prepares the *maṇḍala* and spreads lime powder around it. The daily ritual starts after the *guru* and the disciple have taken a bath. This is followed by periodic observances. The earth, the sky and the beings living thereon are worshipped with *argha* (offering of rice, flowers, etc). *Lokapālas* (Guardians of Quarters) and the ritual vase (*kalaśa*) come next. With the sword they sprinkle the *maṇḍala* (magic designs) whose worship they begin with *astra mantra* (the spell recited while using the sword to avert evil). The worship of the entrance to *maṇḍala* whose wall is prepared by the *astra-mantra* follows next. They now enter the *maṇḍala* and worship the quarters, and, as before, start *homa*, libation, etc. With *mantra-kalaśa* (the spelled ritual vase) they break the *pāśas* (bonds) and practise the *kumbhaka* and *recaka* (inhaling and exhaling of breath). After having muttered *japa* 108 times, the *ācārya* sits on the *maṇḍals*. He begins the worship of Param Śiva and requests Him to ensure the change he has made in the body of the disciple. As Parameśvara's right face becomes the *pāśas* (bonds), he prepares another *maṇḍala* in the southern direction, after having laid out the seat (*āsana*) of *kuśa* (*dūrvā*) grass for him. With water he sprinkles the disciple and strikes him with

astra mantra and seats him on the newly formed *maṇḍala*. The disciple is made to touch the various limbs of the body (*nyāsa*). Bowing and circumambulating the sacrificial fire in the *maṇḍala*, he offers three libations (*āhutis*) to it, the *ācārya* standing in front of the fire-place along with his *paśu*. This transforms him into an uncommon *dvija* (twice born), after his clothes have been sprinkled with water and the sheets of his *pāśas* (bonds) have been destroyed. The disciple offers a flower to the Lord and cleanses his mind of all desires. The male *sādhaka* gets a Śiva name and the female is named after Śakti. The *sādhaka* now returns to the *maṇḍala* and sits near the sacrificial fire along with his *guru*. The *guru* seats him on his left *maṇḍala* and offers three *āhutis* to make the disciple 'a part of Rudra'. With the *āstra* he sprinkles the *śiṣya* and strikes him with a flower and through *recaka* (the upper path) he enters his heart; with pūraka the *guru* enters his own heart. This is known as *Samāsikaraṇa*. As the *śiṣya* is being so transformed, or as differentiation is being dissipated, the whole process is called 'uniting in one and the same' (*Samāsīkaraṇa*). The *guru* with *Saṃhāramudrā*[72] unites the *śiṣya's* heart with his own. This makes the *śiṣya* take a 'second birth.' He takes on the sacred thread; he becomes a *brāhmaṇa* (*dvija*) from conception to the last death-rites. These twenty four *saṃskāras* with the last *āhuti* fix his mass of the body (*piṇḍa*). He becomes a brāhmaṇa. This is his *Caitanya saṃskāra* or the ritual of consciousness. The basic mantra is offered a hundred times and of the *bhairavas* ten times. It is how a *Samayī* is purified through transformation of his *jāti* into a *dvija*, becoming a portion of Rudra and qualifies him to take to the study of the *Śāstras*, *Āgamas*, *japa*, *dhyāna*, etc. Such a Samayī attains the position of Īśvara through *caryā* (social and ritual activity), or yogic meditation (*dhyāna*) that purifies him."

The *Samanā Śakti*[73] (mutation energy) shines and throbs like the thousand rays of the sun. She is worshipped and then Vāgīśī[74] is invoked. Having placed and worshipped her, an animal sacrifice (*paśu-yāga*) is performed. The birth ceremony being over, *prāyaścita* is done. There is a *homa* for the lords of the *bhuvanas* whereafter three elements are purified. The Vāgīśī worship being over, the *śiṣya* is sprinkled with water and beaten and his *Caitanya* is united to Vāgīśī's womb (*garbha*). The body, speech and mind are purified. The Ācārya in this *Śiva-Yoga* shows how the physical body, etc becomes a pure *tattva*. After severing the bonds of pāśa (*pāśaccheda*),

full oblation is made. When *Caitanya* is aroused, *prāyaścit* is done and the scissors or the knife are charmed. Having cut off his tuft of hair, the *śiśu* is bathed and his tuft of hair is offered in *homa.* Having performed the *nyāsa,* both the ācārya and the śiśu worship *Śivakumbha.* The ācārya then worships *Bhairavāgni.* He is united with *bodharūpa* (the form of cosmic knowledge), attains to *Śivatva,* and freed from being *paśu,* he crosses the world. There is no *kāla* (time), *kalā, cāra, tattva* or *devatā.* He obtains *Sunirvāṇa* (pure *nirvāṇa*) through *guru's upāya.* He is always unagitated even while engaged in his daily activities. Being accomplished and all-knowing, he is always Śiva without any division. The whole body is pervaded by Para-Bhairava."[75]

The initiate has everywhere been assimilated to a newborn infant; the initiatory *maṇḍala* is the womb of the *śiśu,* the disciple's *pāśas* are broken, all the *tattvas* purified. He is ritually "dead" but also in the state of being born to a new life, getting "a second birth" of a *dvija.* Since the purpose of the ritual is to gain him *bhairavājati* after his *pāśas* are burnt, we have a symmetry with the fundamental concept of archaic initiation, which was held to guarantee the ideal state in the beyond. The ritual of rebirth is followed by a secret gnosis. The spiritual mysteries are revealed to him through the study of the Āgamas, concentration and a new "science" of sacrifice. Thus the way is opened to Śivatva, to *Sunirvāṇa.* The inner sacrifice of *Caitanya* is a physiological function that takes the place of libations and ritual objects. It is the *prāṇāgnihotra* that is, the "daily sacrifice in respiration"; the organs are assimilated to the ritual fire. More than a ritualistic death, it is the absorption of the disciple's consciousness into that of the *guru* in whose *Caitanya* his consciousness is not only merged but also totally transformed. The disciple is thus so conditioned as to lose his personality, to gain his absolute freedom in the state of Śivahood. He is bound to suffer the consequences of his previous *karmas* in different species at different places and at different times. With the force of the *mantras* the body he takes is the symbolic embodiment of all the species he was to be born into; the different places are merged into the place where he is and different times are merged into one time in which he is existing there. This obviously suggests that the *guru* could, through his *mantra-śakti,* consume the fruit of his previous *karmas* by making him assume all those bodies with their enjoyment of distinctive *karmas* at the same place and at the same time. This was followed

by a *homa* for all those births. The *Svacchanda* speaks of twenty-one *saṃskāras* in this regard before the disciple is re-born a Bhairava.[76] The idea behind the *Caitanya saṃskāra* is thus to free the individual from the world-bound consciousness called *saṃsāra*. It is obvious that the facts of the world stimulate him and his response is guided by the sense-impressions and the mind. He has little control over the sense function or over the mind and none at all over the facts outside him. He is bound to suffer the consequence of his action that is non-deliberate and involuntary, which would imply that his consciousness is tied down to the facts and the ideas and feelings associated with them. The purpose of *Caitanya saṃskāra* is to free the consciousness from the bondage with facts, and help it to get into deeper and therefore freer levels.

The *Mālīnivijayottara Tantra* alludes to *Vastu-yāga* (the household sacrifices) and image-worship. If it is accepted that images were at first made of wood and clay,[77] the injunction given in the *Mālīnivijayottara* would suggest that the practice of establishing idols in individual households was only a later development, and in the beginning images were worshipped communally in a temple. *Vastu-yāga* suggests that there were household shrines, which seem to have been associated with the houses of the rich gentry where worship and sacrifice was performed for the whole family.[78] The physical worship started with Gaṇeśa followed by that of Śiva surrounded by the eight deities (*mātṛkās*).[79] The sacrifice[80] began with the placing of two vessels, one big and one small, formed of gold without splinters or notches, full of perfumed water and covered with two canopies of white cloth over them. Indra and other gods were invoked to watch the sacrifice and to avert malignant influences. The smaller vessel was passed round and its water allowed to drop. The vessel, having assumed the form of Śiva, was to be placed to the east and to its south the water jar. Thereafter a *kuṇḍa* (pit) for the fire was prepared. The fire for the sacrifice was to be carried either in a copper vessel or in an earthen pot. The worshipper was to perform *homa* by muttering the basic *mantra*[81] a hundred times and other attendant *mantras* ten times.[82] The worshipper was to go to sleep at the end of the *homa*. If he saw a bad dream, he was to perform the *homa* again. A bad dream included the eating of cooked meat, massaging with oil and falling into a ditch, etc,[83] whereas the sight of flowers and fruit, well-attired women, landing into a good

district, taking liquor, cutting of the head, eating of raw meat, the *darśana* of a deity, being smeared with excreta were believed to contribute to *siddhi* (success).[84] His five vows comprised: daily worship to his deity, to the fire, to the spiritual teacher, to the goddesses, refraining from using the property dedicated to the deity, the *guru* and Caṇḍi, and from eating without offering his food to them, dissociating himself from idle and unavailing pursuits, devoting himself to the practice of *yoga* or to that of the *mantra*.[85] He was to engage himself in arranging the sacrifice and rewarding brāhmaṇas.[86] This was his *Samaya Krama*[87] (traditional observances).

The text is very clear about the *Vastu-yāga* which fully exploited the household-worshipper's resources to the advantage of the *guru*. The discipline over the *Samayī* was total and unconditional. Not only were his daily activities regulated but even the distribution of foodstuffs was so ordered as to leave him with a bare subsistence wage, the social surplus being appropriated by the *guru* through *homa* and the deity to be worshipped, both before and after his having dreams of wealth and happiness. Under the traditional tantric practices the *sādhakas* were bound to serve their spiritual teachers, make provision for their food and surrender their right to the property dedicated to the deity and the *guru*.[88] The household implements like mull-stone, mortar, pestle, etc used in the worship of gods should never be touched with feet.[89] The feudal obligation of complete loyalty was ensured by rituals designed to maintain the unassailable authority and property-rights of the *guru*. This explains why emphasis was laid on the performance of *yāga, homa* and *japas* in one's home to achieve all *siddhis*.[90] The many tribes of Nāgas, Piśācas, etc who migrated to Kashmir in the early centuries of the Christian era brought with them many tribal practices[91] connected with their cult objects. And many of these, in course of time, were transferred to Vedic gods through the medium of sacrificial fire (*agni*), one such being Rudra.[92] The tantric elements might have been absorbed later due to the matrilineal character of such tribes,[93] an advantage of which was taken over by the brāhmaṇas.

Outlining the religious obligations of a *Samayī*, the *Svacchanda Tantra* provides for a sacrifice at the end of *japa*, offerings to which should consist of human flesh, bdellium, circumfused with or immersed in clarified butter. That leads to miraculous powers

(*siddhis*) of a higher, medium or lower order.[94] It is through the Lords' command that human beings are killed. Those who immolate the victims for the sake of the Lord's *yāga* are free from attachment, jealousy, greed and infatuation; they do not kill the *paśus* out of greed or for mere killing or violence. They simply follow the command (*śāsana*) of Mahābhairava. That is why Svayambhu has created the *paśus*, which are meant for the *yāga* of the lord (*pati*) and not for anything else.[95] His favour is their liberation (*mukti*); he frees them from sins. This would suggest that human beings exist for the sake of the Lord, otherwise their existence has no meaning. They are the mere instruments of His will. Śiva is Mahābhairava who appears to have been Hinduised by the brāhmaṇas. The *liṅgani* (Śaiva) should not condemn wine, meat, fish etc, the substances of the sacrificial fire.[96] The purpose of the rite was to appease and gratify Bhairava. The idea of the victim as a scapegoat is inherent in the very concept of sacrificial propitiation. By a human sacrifice attended by the rites laid down, the *paśu* was supposed to be cleansed off his impurities and gain *Śivatva*. A victim who appears as a sacrifice meet for the Bhairava, has the blessings of the Lord. The scapegoat aspect of the sacrificial propitiation of Bhairava and His śakti is here made more explicit. The personal counterpart to animal and human sacrifice is self-sacrifice. This concept subsumes a wide range of activities from merging the *Caitanya* of the Sādhaka to the eight vows (*vratas*) detailed by the *Svacchanda*.

Human sacrifice goes back to a very early date.[97] *Puṃsamedha* is described in a number of *Brāhmaṇas* but had become merely symbolic by the time of *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*.[98] It seems to have gained approval with the emergence of the tantric cult and *Kula-prakriyā* (Kula procedure).

The *Yoginīs* present them (*paśus*) to the Lord as His meat through three kinds of *yoga*. They do not kill them by force. They are merged in his Śakti through His *icchā* (Will). *Yoga* is the offering of *paśu* to Parameśa; Yoga is staying in Him, the one Absolute Lord. So it is the *Yoginīs*, urged by Śiva-Śakti, who make them pure, one with Śiva.[99] It is through *Yoginī's yoga* that they obtain *Śivatva*; they uproot the three *malas* (defilements). Without these three *malas*, the body does not sprout. They break the fetters (*pāśas*) of the *paśu*, which destroys the body; the destruction of the body is liberation and not being killed.[100]

The *Yoginīs* are highly honoured by having a mere look at the *yajña* that fulfils all desires. A follower of the Mālinī school,[101] desirous of performing a sacrifice, must have purificatory baths, technically known as *bhasmasnāna*, *jalasnāna*, *agnisnāna*, *vāyusnāna* and *divyasnāna*. The taking of a bath in the ashes, lakes, or rivers, fire or air or the sky was supposed to remove the impurities of a *sādhaka* before entering the sacrificial altar and offering worship to the deities of the entrance. All the time he was to chant the *astra-mantra*, pronounced, most probably, before identifying his body with the *mātṛkā*, assigning each part of his body to the corresponding letters of the alphabet according to the arrangement of *mātṛkānyāsa*. In the *śāktanyāsa*, which he had to perform after this, he was to identify his body with the three *vidyās*[102] (sciences). Then he had to perform the mental sacrifice (*mānasa-yāga*).[103]

The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* and *Svacchanda Tantra* lay great stress on *mānasa-yāga* besides the recitation of *astra-mantra* both at the time of physical and mental purification of the *sādhaka* and while kindling the sacrificial fire. A belief in the magical potency of certain syllables is found in most primitive peoples.[104] Both the Vedic and Tantric traditions emphasize the importance of *mantras* for all round *siddhis*. Turning from the external worship which consists of worship of the icons and rituals connected with it, the internal worship (*mānasa-yāga*) requires the visualisation of a mental image of Bhairava and worshipping the self-Bhairava with the help of *mantra* (sacred formulae), *mudrā* (symbolic hand gestures) and *nyāsa* (placing the sacred letters or mantras in different parts of the body), which also involves the performance of *mānasa japa* or mental recitation of the sectarian formula. The *Svacchanda* speaks of the *mānasa-pūjā* with symbolic offerings of sandal-paste, incense, flowers and a variety of food-offerings, which obviously includes meat also.[105] The *Jayākhya Samhitā*, a sixth century work of the Pañcarātrins from Kashmir,[106] also speaks of two kinds of worship: the external (*vāhya-yāga*) and the internal (*mānasa-yāga*).[107] Having identified the image of Bhairava with its sectarian formula (*mūla-mantra*), the *sādhaka* should place the sacred letters of the *mantras* to his right, left and the middle, considering these to be *jñāna-śakti*, *kriyā-śakti* and *icchā-śakti* respectively, followed by symbolic hand gestures (*mudrās*).[108] Kṣemarāja explains in the commentary parts that this *yāga* and *pūjā* is the blending of the tantric and Vedic worship.[109] The emphasis

on *mānasa-yāga* must have made the worship of the self (Bhairava) very popular and done away with costly rituals which were beyond the means of the common people. The reference to *antaryāga* and *mantracaitanya*[110] (consciousness latent in the *mantra*) points to the same conclusion. The *Svacchanda Tantra* regards the external rites of the five *MS* as subsidiary, the more important ones being *antaryāga* or the rites of inner purification.[111] *Mānasa-yāga* (internal worship) was preferred by Samayācārins. This group of the Śāktas was more restrained in its ideas and practices and it seems that their internal worship in due course assumed the form of symbolic Śrīcakra worship. Apart from the *ṣaṭcakras* (six psychic centres), the Samayācārins laid more emphasis on *mānascakra* (centre of the mind), which is said to be located just above the centre of understanding. They must have realized it to be the secret centre responsible for all perceptual processes and dream-states.

Phallus-worship (*liṅga-pūjā*) seems to have been prevalent. The *liṅga* of Śiva was worshipped in the form of clay, stone, metal and precious stones.[112] The *Mālinīvijayottara* recommends the worship of *liṅga* of the self wherein are absorbed the aggregate of all created things, whether animate or inanimate and wherein is settled the form of the external *liṅga*.[113] In the heart this *liṅga* is found stationed in the form of a stir (*spandana*). With the *citt* concentrated on it, there is tremulation and awakening.[114] The *liṅga*, rising from the heart and reaching the aperture at the top (*brahmarandhra*), one sees one's own light.[115] There he sees the entire web of magical formulas.[116] This *mahāliṅga* of the Śaivas is attained through the *Ātma-liṅga*.[117] All this evidence indicates that phallus worship was quite common and that meditation on the *liṅga* of the self was mostly confined to yogīs. The *liṅgani* is exhorted to have no aversion for Siddhas.[118]

Mudrās[119] play an important part in the rituals of the tantric Śaivas. The symbolical valorization of ritual gestures remains current even today in the course of canonical prayer. In the tantric liturgy *mudrā* is often interpreted as symbolical hand-gesture; it is also often taken to mean "parched cereal food" of various kinds in tantric rituals.[120] The Śaivāgamas interpret *mudrā* in three different ways; 1) that which gives *muda* and joy; 2) that which dissolves *mu* (bondage); 3) that which seals up the universe into *turīya* or the fourth state of consciousness.[121] Abhinavagupta explains *mudrā* as enabling living beings to acquire self-realisation in all the states of embodied ones,[122] the realization of certain states of consciousness

by hieratic gestures and postures. The *Mālinīvijaya* clearly explains that *mudrās* are corporal positions.[123] It lays great stress on them and enumerates twenty-six *mudrās* that protect the *mantrī* and accomplish *mantra-siddhi*.[124] Their *mantras* are to be formed by prefixing certain syllables.[125] In the *mātṛkānyāsa* and *śāktanyāsa* too they occupy an important place. A practice of considerable antiquity which the tantrics enriched were these two types of *nyāsa* the ritual projection of divinities into various parts of the body. The disciple "projected" the divinities, at the same time touching various areas of his body. In other words he homologized his body with the tantric pantheon in order to awaken the latent energy within. The *Parātriṃśika* states that *Kaulikasiddhi* is achieved through *khecarī-sāmya*. During the *Khecari-mudrā* "the *bindu* (= sperm) does not fall" even if one is embraced by a woman. The *Gorakṣa Saṃhita* (61-71) adds that "while the bindu remains in the body, there is no fear of death." The same idea is expressed in the allied practice of *coitus reservatus* recommended especially in Buddhist Vajrayāna texts. Even if the *bindu* has reached the fire (is ejaculated), it straight away returns, arrested . . . by the *Yonimudra*."[126] The *Vīrayoginī* copulation results in *Khecarī-śamya*. Having drawn up his own discharged *bindu*, the Vīra can preserve it... By the loss of *bindu* comes death; from its retention, life. The *Parātriṃśikā* clearly indicates the interdependence between the breath, psychomental experience, and the semen virile. The Vīra obtains immovability by controlling the air (breath). As long as *prāṇa* remains in the body, life (*jīva*) does not depart.[127]

In some rituals the idea of propitiation is insignificant. Such is the communion ritual in which the worshipper is united with divinity through sex. This ritual is normally preceded by a propitiatory one which gives the devotee preparatory purification of thirty-six *tattvas*. The Śaivites were not, however, sybaritic materialistic addicted to wine, meat and illicit intercourse. Nor do the Āgamas espouse a thoroughly hedonistic code of conduct. The *Vīrayoginī Sampradāya* adopted sex as the road to *samādhi*, Himself adopted by Siva, and the intercourse between the two is described as the path of *Kaulikasiddhi* in which Kula (undifferentiated energy) gets merged into Akala (Śiva) in an undifferentiated form. In Tantric practice everything is Śiva, including the partaking of wine and meat. Both are consecrated and bear an eucharistic aspect. The first four *ma* sounds—wine, meat, fish and grain (*mudrā*)—are

connected with materialism and are conducive to bliss, the final preparation for which is *maithuna* between the initiated and his partner. This corresponds to the Śiva-Śakti concept. The eucharistic significance of the above four ingredients is taken either in the form of Śakti or Śiva. The identification of the ritual foods (*caru*) with the body or body-products of Śiva confers on the communicant consubstantiality with them. He becomes the god and shares his various divine attributes such as immortality and magical powers. The central ritual of tantric communion, sexual ritual, confers on him the same five-fold powers as shared by Śiva who is *Pañca-kṛtyavidhāyin*: the power of manifestation, sustenance (*sṛṣṭi*), with-drawal of manifestation (*saṃhāra*), veiling of self (*vilaya*), grace (*anugraha*).

The archetypal basis of the ritual is indicated in the traditional etymology for the term Somasiddhānta—the doctrine of Soma (Śiva) united with Umā.[128] The human participants of the ritual mentally identify themselves with Śiva and Śakti. In the bliss of the sexual union the human pair realize the divine bliss of Śiva and Śakti. This would mean that final salvation (*mukti*) on this view is perpetual orgasm, not merely extinction of the cycle of rebirth. The bliss which becomes manifest through sexual union is the true form of Bhairava. This is the ultimate truth; this is *khecarī-sāmya* or *Kaulikasiddhi*.

A Yogin must be a superman; all the sense activities must be under his control. He must be altogether impervious to pain, having overcome sleep, anger and mental restlessness.[129] If such a *Yogī* follows the different methods adopted for different *dhāraṇās* ("fixation of mind"/meditation), he is sure to win his conquest of the entire cosmos; within three years he enjoys the earth.[130] The *Mālinī*, in its concluding chapters, states the different *dhāraṇās*, which, after having burnt the bonds of the world, lead to *Śivatva*.[131] Starting from the *siddhis* during a week, the Āgama mentions how the practitioner overcomes various disabilities in a specified time-schedule. *Vāruṇī dhāraṇā*, for instance, gives him mastery over the water and he acquires the characteristic of moisture, being freed from all diseases. The *Āgneyi dhāraṇā* gives lustre and calm, the practitioner of Agni in three years can play with fire and burn mountains and forests, when angry; and likewise the *Vāyavī* and other *dhāraṇās* ultimately result in the formation of his subtle body.[132] The *Vāruṇī dhāraṇā* gets him the position of a Videsvara,

that of *Āgneyī* and *Vāyavī* the Mantreśa. In the *Vāyavī dhāraṇā* the yogin visualizes a violent storm scattering the ashes of the lotus of the heart. In the *Vāruṇī dhāraṇā* he imagines rain falling and washing away the ashes that cover his body. All the *dhāraṇās* secure him immunity from disease and control over various elements,[133] including death and old age. *Manovatī dhāraṇā* leads to all round *siddhis*. Mind alone is the cause of bondage and liberation. Therefore, the *mantrī* (the reciter of *mantras*) starts with the practice of the mind.[134] Casually he sees; casually he listens; he obtains the knowledge of all senses.[135] A *yogī* becomes invincible in three years[136] and reaches the world of Indra (*Indraloka*).[137] He can compose *Śāstras* in three years.[138]

The *Vijñānabhairava* describes 112 *dhāraṇās*[139] or types of yoga as means of communion with Bhairava. Each *dhāraṇā* corresponds to one or the other *upāya* for the aspirant. The *dhāraṇā* corresponding to *anupāya* (lit. without any means) needs a casual hint by the *guru* to enter the mystic state. *Āṇava, Śākta* and *Śāmbhava upāyas* are definite techniques,[140] adopted by an aspirant according to his fitness. When *cetanā* (= *buddhi*), *mānasa* (= *manas*), *śakti* (= *Prāṇaśakti*), *ātmā* (= *jīvātmā*) are dissolved into *citt* (the higher universal divine consciousness), the aspirant attains to Bhairava consciousness.[141]

The activities of Śakti, the Primordial Female Energy, underlie the diversified forms of appearance, colour, etc and phenomena of the Universe. The cosmos right from Brahmā down to the earth is pervaded by *Mātṛkā* which is full of the lustre of I-consciousness (*Parāhantā*) of the Supreme that is the creative power of Param-Śiva. *Parāhantā* is also known as *Parāśakti* (= Parāvāk-*para* = *mahā-mātṛkā*). Kṣemarāja states that the extended Universe beginning with the letter *a* which is of the nature of the highest Reality (*anuttara*) and upto the letter *ha* which is indicative of the expansion of Śakti, flashes forth as a result of the combination of *a* and *ha*. Being accepted inwardly in the manner of the emancipation of sensory activity from the domination of exterior objects (*Pratyāhāra*), the Universe rests in the Highest Reality in the form of *bindu*, indicative of the consciousness of non-differentiation. 'A' represents Śiva (= *prakāśa*); 'ha' represents *śakti* (= *vimarśa*); the *bindu* or dot on 'ha' suggests that Siva is manifested right upto the earth through Śakti.[142] He is not divided but remains integrally the same. The same idea of the expansion of *Śakti* (*Śakti-sphāra*) is

expressed in the twelfth century text of *Mahānaya-prakāsa* in Kashmiri. Śrikaṇṭha's version in Kashmiri is perhaps the first composition of its kind, explaining the importance of Śāktism, quoting frequently from the *Ānandeśvara-tantra*.[143]

'Mātṛkā' is called Mother. It produces the entire universe. It is the un-understood Mother or power of sound inherent in the alphabet that is the basis of the limited knowledge in the form of *ānava* (that which makes one consider oneself incomplete and imperfect), *māyīya* (that which brings a sense of difference in every thing) and *kārma* (that which makes one perform good or bad deeds) *mala*. She is the presiding power in the form of various deities (*śaktir adhiṣṭhatri*).[144] She is the motivating power lying at the root of every effort in this world. She is the soul of all *mantras;* without her *mantras* are useless like autumnal clouds.[145] By union with the collective whole of *Śaktis* through intensive and fixed awareness, there is disappearance of the universe as something separate from consciousness.[146] When an aspirant with single minded devotion apprehends that Reality which is beyond the range of utterance, he obtains absorption in divine consciousness (*samāveśa*) known as *Śākta*.[147] The will power of the yogī who has reached the status of the highest Bhairava is *Umā* i.e. the highest *Svātantrya Śakti* of the Lord. This Śakti is Kumari that manifests the universe and finally withdraws it within herself.[148] The will power of the yogī, who is in communion with Śiva is *Umā* (splendour of Śiva) who is Kumari. Such a *yogī* who is united with *icchā Śakti* (divine will power) can develop certain supernatural powers (*vibhūtis*), acquiring the power of creating any kind of body according to his desire.[149]

These seven *mātṛkās* as also other such *devīs* are free and work according to their will. All the seven follow the commands of Svacchandanātha.[150] Śiva's śakti-incarnate Umā has manifested herself in these seven forms in seven different ways.[151] The total life of the aspirant who has received full enlightenment about *mātṛkā-cakra* is changed. His whole life becomes yoga; his formal rituals are changed into spiritual practices. Of such a person the body becomes an oblation to be poured into the fire of the highest consciousness.[152]

The main idea here is that this body is not to be confused with the 'self'. One should pour into the fire of the highest consciousness all the elements, senses and objects of sense together with mind. This is real oblation (*homa*). The self-inquiring consciousness is the

ladle with which this oblation is to be performed.[153] The body is an oblation (*śarīram havi*)[154] for the yogī who has fully realized the significance of the collective whole of *mātṛkā*. This is in full conformity with the *mātṛkā* ritual. Mahāmātṛs are worshipped with white, red, yellow, black flowers of different kinds, a dish consisting of cereals, sesamum and grain, rice mixed with milk, meat of four kinds (animals from marshy places, game belonging to a dry place, animals of the water, birds from the sky).[155] These Mātṛicakras called *Yonis* ensure prosperity to children.[156] According to *Śrīkriyākālagunethra Āgama* *Mātṛkās* are to be worshipped with variegated bales of sweet-meat, wine, meat and red flowers. The deities are to be offered clothes of their choice, gold, precious stones, metals, lamps (perhaps of gold). Such worship averts the disaster produced by malefactory planets, evil spirits, etc.[157]

Evidently the *mātṛkā* ritual provides a philosophic and practical explanation of the worship of the Mātṛkās. The Mātṛkās are assigned the highest position because of their predominance in a matrilineal society, where female worship is a characteristic feature of its early phases. In our opinion, the collective worship of the Mātṛkās (being reduced to five in the sixth century)[158] marks an intermediate stage in the development of the tantric worship, coming between the worship of the Saptamātṛkās and the emergence of Śiva-Śakti as the all powerful supreme god. The earlier forms of worship (five Mātṛkās) survived for a long time side by side with the worship of, Śiva[159] but owing to the growing popularity of the latter, these eventually faded away. The Devasar Mātṛkā panel depicts five *mātṛkās* at the top along with their vehicles and at the bottom are shown the central figure of a dancer flanked by two musicians on either side seated in a boat.[160] The *mātṛkā* ritual thus occupied an important place in the tantric rituals and for a very long time it seems to have been practised both by the gentry and the plebians. Even now, at the time of the thread-ceremony of a brāhmaṇa boy we have the *mātṛkā* ritual observed with offerings of rice mixed with milk and cakes made of cereal flour. But the *mātṛkā* ritual seems to have gradually died out following the rigidity and expense incurred on a large scale. A grave threat to the brāhmaṇical domination came from changed economic condition of the lower *varṇas* and the intermittent struggles of the contenders to the throne of Kashmir from the time

of Didda (A.D. 980-1003) to the reign period of Rāmadeva and Queen Koṭa (A.D. 1339).

The genesis of the Mātṛkā worship and the concept of Śiva-Śakti may be traced back to the matrilineal traditions of Kashmir society. Matriliny is the custom of reckoning kinship, descent, succession and inheritance in the female line. Garo and Khasia tribes and brāhmaṇas on the Malabar coast are survivals of the mother-right in our country. There is also evidence to show that many tribes in the north-western Himalayas, including the tribal communities of Kashmir, were matrilineal at one stage of history. The legend of Nāga Suśravas[161] may read like a folklore but the ruins and the actual finds of ancient coins in the locality of Narapura (Bijbehara) suggest the existence of a flourishing township on the banks of the Vitastā and the uniting of Nāga-brāhmaṇa in matrimony. Viśākha, a brāhmaṇa, wins the hand of Nāga Suśravas' daughter and moves to his wife's house and is transformed into a Nāga. This would suggest the matrilineal and matrilocal character of the Nāga tribe. We see how the locality of marriage affects the social order profoundly, the brāhmaṇa being elevated to the position of a Nāga. As a result of the marriage which is matrilocal and kinship which is matrilineal, the wife's kin forms a definite local group, ready and able to exert supreme authority in cases of conflict; here in the case of the brahmana turned Nāgá, the wife's kin comes to his help in the hour of adversity, burning king Nara with his town in a rain of fearful thunderbolts. The husband has a meed of respect in the family and in his wife's community but no authority. This reflects the social organisation of the later Kuṣāṇa period in Kashmir.

Another instance of a matrilocal marriage relates to the period of the eighth century when the Nāga Kārkoṭas held sway over Kashmir. Saṃgamāditya, who had married a brāhmaṇa girl, had to settle in Kashmir according to the customs of a matrilineal society.[162] Most probably Saṃgamāditya had a Nāga-brāhmaṇa mother, who belonged to the same social organisation of mother right in which the rights of a person in relation to other members of his community as a whole are determined by relationship traced through the mother. In a way the duties which Saṃgamāditya owed to his social group, the privileges he enjoyed and the restrictions he was subjected to were regulated and determined by the relations in which he stood to his mother's relatives and his mother's social group.[163] The Nāga community's division into

distinct social groups is most pronounced in the clan organisation. Here the practice of exogamy separates the social groups called clans from one another.

The Nāgas were not the only tribal community settled in Kashmir. It is said that the Khaśas were equally powerful and wide-spread all over the hill country in the north-western Himālayas. Having made their way through Gilgit and Chitral, they are believed to have entered India by the same route as the Āryans. The Kirātas were the first to arrive followed by the Nāgas and Khaśas.[164] Their settlement in widely different parts of the regions show their concentration in the valleys lying immediately to the south and west of the Pir-Panjal range, between the middle course of the Vitastā in the west and Kāṣṭavāta in the east.[165] The polyandrous practice among the Khaśas seems to have been a survival of a more archaic tribal order of society.[166] In the places where nature was hard to exploit, it was not possible for a single man to earn subsistence for a family. Sharing a common wife prevented the division of land.

It seems that because of their unorthodox *ācāra* the Dāradas, the Bhuṭas were all lumped together under the term 'Khaśas' and accounts for the resentment of the Khasiya people who do not acknowledge the name as applicable to themselves, but apply it to the Bhoṭia. Khalhana believes that Mihirakula's action against the Dāradas, Bhuṭas or Khaśas was caused by his anxiety to restore the sacred law.[167] A passage in some copies of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* endorses the statement made in the Karṇaparvan of the *Mahābhārata* against these tribes.[168] The Gāndhāras are one of those tribes anathematized with the Arattas and the Khaśas. "These sinners (i.e. the Gāndhāra brāhmaṇas) sprung from M'lecchas are so shameless as to corrupt their own sisters and daughters-in-law and to offer their wives to others, hiring and selling them, like commodities, for money. Their women being thus given to strangers are consequently shameless."[169] The general conclusion is this that marital ties among these people co-existed with considerable sexual laxity.[170] The Karṇaparvan suggests by implication a fluid state of sexual relations among the Khaśas and the existence of the mother-right. The practices of the Bāhikas (Vāhilikas), the Khaśa and other tribes in the Punjab are stigmatized as disgraceful, both in the matter of food and sacrifices and loose living of their women.[171] The passage in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* confirms the loose

practices attributed in the Karṇaparvan to the Gāndhāras, who are one of the tribes anathematized with the Arattas and Khaśas. Kalhaṇa calls these brāhmaṇas from Gāndhāra the lowest of the twice-born.[172] The Prasthalas,[173] the Madras,[174] the Gāndhāras, the Arattas,[175] those called Khaśas etc are almost as blamable in their practices. We find specific mention of mother-right among the Arattas too. The sister's sons of the Arattas, and not their own sons, become their heirs.[176] It is clear that the custom of a man's sister's sons being his heirs is an old-fashioned survival from early times, connected with matriarchal ideas.[177] The loose practices of the Gāndhāras and the Arattas which are attributed to the Khaśas in dim antiquity show that their women were lax in morals, which is not, in any way, synonymous with promiscuity or want of any marital tie.[178]

Passages in the *Nīlamata-Purāṇa* confirm the evil practices referred to in the *Mahābhārata* where the various tribes (*janas*) dwell and is thus described by Kaśyapa: "As the human beings (sic. *janas*) are always associated with Piśācas there, their intellect does not always diverge from sin. It is a land dishonoured in all countries, possessed of evil practices and covered with impurities." Sati, assuming the form of a river, washes away their sins, appears and disappears many a time at the touch of a man having illicit relations with a friend's wife.[179] Kaśyapa addresses Sati thus: "O beautiful-faced one, their sin can be allayed by you alone, as the sin committed in this land is regarded to be weighty by me."[180] Women, in particular, are severely censured for loose living and so Sati dare not purify those who live in sin.[181] The practices of the Piśācas, Yakṣas, etc held among the Khaśas too and we find specific mention of mother-right among the Khaśas.[182] Available evidence for the statements, referred to above, in the *Mahābhārata, Nīlamata-Purāṇa* the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*; all indicate how the Madras, the Gāndhāras, Piśācas, the Khaśas are guilty and blamable in their practices.

The verse in the *Mahābhārata* that we have been discussing clearly speaks of husbands of Khaśa girls. Mother-right may be due to matrilocal residence. Where a woman does not leave her family but receives her husband in it and her children are affiliated to the mother's family, we have a matrilineal, matrilocal and matripotestal society. These conditions favoured the freedom of women, who may have broken loose from all restraint and associated freely

with other men too. The bonds of strict conjugal fidelity made little sense in their primitive society, affecting thereby the very nature of the marital union. Her right to dissolve the marriage set no high standard of female virtue either but rather strengthened her dominant position among the Khaśas in early times. It is not a violent presumption that 2000 years back (the *Mahābhārata* having been compiled before the Christian era) the Khaśas probably did not care for the moral well-being of their daughters and the statement in the *Mahābhārata* about mother-right may be founded in fact. A man living under the roof of his wife's house may have considerably suffered in exercising his parental and conjugal rights and authority over his own children. The brothers of his wife claimed a fair share of authority over his children.

In mother-right, succession usually follows the same rules as inheritance, and chief, priest, or other holder of rank or office being succeeded, either by his brother or by his sister's child.[183] Both in the Gonandīya and Nāga Kārkoṭa dynasties we have instances of brothers succeeding to the throne. Rānāditya succeeds Narendrāditya, Bālāditya follows Vikramāditya, Candrāpīḍa-Vajrāditya, Tārāpīḍa-Udyāditya and Maktāpīḍa-Lalitāditya are again, brothers following one after another.[184] It is difficult to believe that all of them had died childless.

The existence of certain peculiar privileges of the maternal uncle among the Khaśas and now among most of the Kashmiris discloses an earlier social grouping different from the strong patriarchal family that is observed at the present day. Till recently, customs regulated in a special way the relations of a nephew to his maternal uncle. Both at the time of the thread ceremony and marriage, the maternal uncle plays an important role, and, in certain cases, the inheritance of the property not by the son, but by the sister's son.[185] The exercise of certain peculiar privileges and an unusual authority of the maternal uncle among the Kashmiri Paṇḍits discloses an earlier social grouping different from the strong patriarchal social organisation that is observed at the present day, the community being exogamous. This may be due to cultural diffusion from the aborigines. There are very rare cases of inheritance going to the sister's son now, but in some incidents which have clung to the most primitive and conservative of all human institutions, i.e. marriage, help us to get a glimpse of dim antiquity. The maternal uncle discharges some important social functions in the initiation rites, at

birth and marriage which enable us to study his role. An offer of marriage to a girl's father is usually accompanied by the maternal uncle's share in the price of the bride. The custom of sharing in the bride-price looks like a relic of the primitive society where the maternal uncle stood as the head of the family and guardian of his sister's children. He seems to have succeeded in manoeuvring for his position in the change-over of the social organisation from a matriarchal to a patriarchal family. Secondly, the maternal uncle was supposed to maintain a high degree of sexual purity and was to refrain from having any sexual intercourse with the wife of his sister's son. This taboo may appear to be quite reasonable on moral and religious grounds. As head of the family he was expected to maintain sexual purity even in that primitive society and avoid familiarity with the wife/wives of his sister's son/sons. The conditions thus described as typical mother-right might have occurred very rarely, being founded most purely among the members of a very primitive society. The presence of certain social customs, observed in patrilineal societies, indicates that these are the vestiges of the earlier presence of a matrilineal society.[186] Amazon legends have also been interpreted as relics of mother-right. We are told of a *Strīrājya,*[187] which most probably seems to have been somewhere in Central Asia along the ridge of the eastern Himālayas. Women participated in battles, led by their queens. That they did not have any standard of sexual purity is suggested by the fact that Lalitāditya was not moved by the amorous looks of the women of this *rājya*. His grandson and one of the successors in the line of the Kārkoṭas is also credited with having carried on his conquests of the same *rājya* but seems to have shown utmost restraint and freedom from lust while conquering this land. The *Karṇā-śrīpata* (the royal edict of Karṇa) which he carried away from *Strīrājya* and fixed in his newly established office of *dharmādhikaraṇa* (office of justice) shows that these women must have also acted as the chief justices of their kingdom and dispensed fair justice.

Some of the social customs we have been discussing here found even now in our society organised on a patrilineal basis, show that these are the natural concomitants of mother-right. These may, therefore, be assumed to be the vestiges of the earlier presence of a matrilineal form of society, which explains the survivals of mother-right. The community of Kashmiri Paṇḍits was divided into

distinct social groups till recently, each enjoying a *Krām* name. This distinctness is most pronounced in the clan organisation in which the practice of exogamy separates the social groups called clans clearly from one another. In clan organisation most of the social functions would exist only in connection with mother's relatives. This is what is observed even now in connection with social duties, privileges and restrictions of mother's relatives in our community. In some instances the usual role of inheritance followed the same rules as succession, the property of man passes to his brother or his sister's son. This applied mostly to *Kulagurus* where sister's son inherited the property, again a vestige of mother-right.

It is not, therefore, improbable that the emergence of the concept of *Śakti* in Śaivism was somehow connected with the matrilineal traditions of Kashmir society. Though this could have been borrowed from elsewhere too, the matrilineal character of the tribal communities points to a different direction. The *Mātṛkā* worship was fully evolved in the 6th century, but it seems to have its roots embedded in dim antiquity, connected with matriarchal ideas. The many stray evidences of matrilineal arrangements within the sphere of Aryan settlements in Kashmir indicate that there has been a collision of different tribes, and that the influence of the vanquished has been most striking. The wave of immigration from Central Asia tends to establish that before the dispersion of various tribes across the Himālayas into Kashmir, the Aryans had reached a patriarchal stage which was strongly influenced by the few relics of ancient conditions and of the influence of the matrilineal arrangements belonging to the older tribes in Tibet, Pamir plateau and other regions of Central Asia. If the Amazonian kingdom (*Strīrājya*) lay in Tibet and was a reality, the Chinese annals make some significant observations.[188] The sons there took the surname of the mother. It seems thus likely that the oborigines with whom the Khaśas first came in contact in these hills had matriarchal institutions, and that the newcomers were influenced by intermarriage with them. The Saivacaryas and other brahmanas could not entirely displace the customary laws and the moment they settled in Kashmir their marriage in these hilly regions not only influenced their customs, but allowed a predominant position to women initiates too. It seems that the tantric gurus/brāhmaṇas were obliged to permit many inveterate practices to continue, which they found it impossible to abolish. Matriarchy that has

been alleged to exist among the Arattas (in Punjab) and among the Khaśas and other tribes in and around Kashmir has definitely influenced their religious and social usages. The *Mātṛicakras*, mostly near the Gates of Kashmir, confirm these earlier usages. In the legendary portions of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* we find several queens raising these mystic *yantras* or *cakras* to the memory of the divine mother. The divine sorceress (*Kṛtyā*) making Jalauka (the son of Aśoka) promise to build a *vihāra* near the present village of Kiṭsahoma speaks of the same tradition even among the Bauddhas. That all these *yantras* (mystical diagrams) and *vihāras* were associated with an air of spirituality when blessed by the mothers, shows the strong influence which the matrilineal traditions evoked during the fourth-third century B.C. The worship of the mothers in one form or another thus dates back to a very early period, and we would, therefore, not be far too wrong to assume that śakti which plays a great part in the tantra rituals had come to occupy an important place in the social life and religious beliefs of the various communities settled in Kashmir. The full phase of its maturity stands in full view just in a millennium. The Gupta period in Kashmir saw its efflorescence.

The introduction of *Mātṛkā* worship may be a late feature of the fifth-sixth century, but from the very beginning the cult seems to have had a close affinity with tantrism. A verse of the *Śānti Parva* states that the offerings of meat, honey, wine, fish, distilled liquor, and rice mixed with sesamum were introduced by the rascals motivated by lust, ignorance and greed.[189] The offering of *kṛṣara, taṇḍula, sasya* (rice mixed with sesamum or peas, parched cereal) and the four kinds of meat obviously refers to the cereal foods of various kinds and meat used in tantric rituals. The *Baudhāyana Gṛhya Sūtra* also sanctions the offerings of *kṛṣara*, and of sesamum mixed with clarified butter.[190] The disapproval of sesamum mixed with rice and parched cereals and the repugnance of the Vedic priests to these seems to have stemmed from their pastoral background. The people of the valley cultivated sesamum and seem to have been familiar with its utility as a nutrient to the soil and as a means to ensure a healthy growth of their children following its use in their rituals.[191] With the tantrics the discovery of this plant with seeds used in various ways as food and oil was an agricultural discovery of no mean order. It was an easy way of securing access to what is usually inaccessible. The performance

of *Mahāśānti Yāga* (sacrifice for peace) to avert mishaps (*āpadā*) with the substances of sesamum, milk, clarified butter and candy and *Cakrapūjā* (worship of the sacred wheel of Mothers) to ensure longevity, manliness and prosperity clearly indicate the importance of sesamum.[192] The use of sesamum, walnuts and honey by a woman after her delivery and the distribution of the same composition to her neighbours is believed to promote desirable offspring and rich agricultural produce. Sesamum thus appears to have been connected with fertility and the matriarchal traditions of the non-Vedic people with a matriarchal-agricultural culture. The association of Kumārī as the goddess of wine in the *Mātṛkā* ritual is also very significant. She offers the divinely filled vessel to Sadāśiva. A drop of wine from this gives rise to creepers, grapes, etc, a drop from another vessel offered to Rudra gives rise to wheat, paddy, etc. From other pitchers containing wine arise trees, life-immortalising herbs,[193] etc. Thus the entire worship of *Mātṛkās* suggests the importance of fertility rites in societies with a matrilineal background. The descent and ascent of Śiva through Śakti highlights the importance and impact of the traditions of a matrilineal society; the absorption of the universe in Him indicates the trend towards the emergence of a patriarchal society.

The description of *Mātṛkā* ritual indicates how the worship of the *śaktis* was regarded as the most important step towards the attainment of union with Śiva. The worship of five *Mātṛkās* suggests that the five Śaktis of Śiva, viz: *citt, ānanda, icchā, jñāna* and *kriyā* received more attention, displacing the other two *Śaktis*. We have here a continuity of the tantric *sādhana* (realization) which has for its aim a return to the *primordial unity*, to the completeness (*pūrṇāhantā*) before the manifestation of the universe. The oblation of the body into the fire of the highest consciousness, along with all the senses and sense-objects does not affect the essential function of *Śaiva-Yoga* assuring the "second birth." The *Mātṛkā* ritual is very clear about the homologization, the identification of the *sādhaka* with Param Śiva, the acquisition of all the five *Śaktis*. The transmutation of profane activities into rituals is made possible by Śaiva-Yoga. Not only does the *sādhaka* identify himself with the cosmos; he also rediscovers the genesis and destruction of the universe in his own body.

The *Tantras* also speak of a number of magical rites. The *kīlana mantra*, when employed to others, results in the destruction of the

enemies, transformation of women into *vetālī*, death, uprooting (*uccāṭana*) etc. The *yantra* employed here is called *khārkhoda*. There are nine types of *mantravāda* which materialise a *mantra*.[194] The knowledge and practice of some eleven types of *mantras* give miraculous powers (*siddhis*) to a *Sādhakeśvara*. On top of it is the All-knowing Siva who is the complete *mantra* of all the *mantras*, the preserver of all energy, the *Yoni* of all *mantras*, giver of *mokṣa* and *siddhi*.[195] The violation of these mantras causes disease and death of sons and wives.[196] To avert any mishap, the *sādhaka* should perform a *yaga*.[197] The arrogant can be subdued by adulterating their meal or drink with chick-peas, kidney-beans, pulses thrown out with a faeces, clarified butter, etc, the semen virile, the menstrual excretion of a woman, the impurity of navel, red urine, spittle, a special medicinal herb called *putrajani*, emblic myrobalan, etc and serving these on a good constellation (*puṣya-nakṣatra*).[198] It seems that some selfish brāhmaṇas, in an attempt to protect their economic interests, did not even hesitate to practise some wholly outlandish and obviously abominable rituals, with antinomian and repugnant elements in them.

Such practices of overpowering the enemy and getting rid of evil spirits continued late into the tenth-eleventh century. We hear of the evil spirits retreating by the commands of Śiva, and *bhūtas*, *pretas*, *piśācas* fleeing on seeing the weapons of the Devī.[199]

We have also the names of plants and other herbs that obstruct the power of killing. The ruin of a haughty enemy is brought about by preparing his image with the feathers of a crow and an owl grafted on the clay soiled with the urine of an ass and a camel and stained with the blood of a crow. The feathers of the crow and the owl should be pushed into his anus and the image then dug into the earth near a crossing, or the feathers of the crow should be offered as an oblation to the fire lit in the cremation-ground.[200]

The goal of rituals and their observances was to escape this becoming (*bhava*), to tear up the bonds (*pāśas*) and to reach a stage from where there could be no correspondence with phenomenal experience but only what Patañjali at one place says a "systematic rejection of involvement with facts." The preparatory discipline thus seeks to plug the openings that make consciousness outward-oriented. The *rituals* are essentially an exercise to focus attention on an inward object. The dichotomy between the outer world and the inner consciousness becomes so sharp as to result in the exploration

of levels, which have hardly anything to do with one's phenomenal existence. The journey is all the time on the 'consciousness turning on itself' and the purpose is obviously to disabuse the sense-organs and mind from their habitual preoccupation with facts and ideas.

NOTES

1. *Ma Vi Ta*, IV, 12-13.
2. *Ibid.*, 14.
3. The first flush of awareness is the initial sound form 'a' from which proceeds the entire alphabet in due course.
4. Cf. *Śvetaśvatara Upanisad*, IV. 11 and V. 2; *RV*, *Rātri-Sūkta*, *Devī Sūkta*, *Śrī Sūkta*.
5. *TA*, Vol. I, p. 49, Comm. V, 18.
6. *Ibid.*, *Āhnik* I, V. 18, Comm.
7. *Ibid.*, *Devī-rahasya* XXX II, *passim*.
8. *Devī-rahasya*, XXX II, XIII, *passim*.
9. *TA*, *Āhnik* I, p. 49.
10. *Svacchanda*, X 387 for these *Saṃskāras* see *Manu* II, 26. etc. seq.
11. *Svacchanda*, II, 203 ff.
12. *TA*, Vol. III, p. 278.
13. XI. 27.7.
14. *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. I. Hastings, XXII, p. 192b. For the antiquity of Tantrism, see Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*. Pt I, p. 57 ff; 8. Bhattacharya, *op. cit.*, p. I; *Principles of Tantra*, Intr.; D. Chattopadhyaya, *The Lokāyata*, p. 321 ff.
15. *Svacchanda*, I, 32-34.
16. *Ibid.*, I, 37, *RT*, V, 55.
17. Marshall, *Mohenjodaro and the Indus Civilisation*, Vol. I, p. VII and pp. 49-52, plates XII, XCIV-XCV (hereafter referred to as *Mohenjodaro*).
18. *Mohenjodaro*, Vol. I, pp. 49-52, Pls XII (18).
19. *Proto-Indo Mediterranean Culture*, Vol. I, p. 231.
20. The plastic representation of God 'An' among the proto-Indian *Sardesai Commemorative Volume*, p. 229.
21. Dhavalikar, 'The Origin of the Saptamatrkas in the Bulletin of the Deccan College Research Institute, Poona, 1963, Vol. 21, pp. 19-26.
22. I 141. 2, IX. 102.4 III. 6.2 II. 2. 9.

23. Bengal, Bihar, Orissa, M.P., Kashmir, etc.
24. See for example Devsar Panel, Pandrethan Panel in S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.
25. *RV,* III 55 and X 136.5.
26. I. 462.
27. *NMP,* 159 ff (Ghai edition).
28. *Ibid.*, 82 ff.
29. G. Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography,* Vol. I, pp. 379-83 (hereafter referred to as *EHI*).
30. *Ibid.*, I, pp. 382-83.
31. *Ibid.*, I 381.
32. *NMP,* 145 ff.
33. IX. 66.6.
34. *ERE*, Vol. 12, 711 (ii).
35. *Ibid.*, 708 (ii).
36. *RT*, i, 122, 333.
37. *Ibid.*, i, 122.
38. *Ibid.*, i, 122, 333, 335, 348, iii, 99, V, 55.
39. *Ibid.*, i, 122.
40. *Ibid.*, i, 333 to 335. The practice of offering (*balis*) of lungs and liver of an animal to *Śārikā* at Cakreśvari, to Bālādevī at Bālahoma, etc suggests that the spurs of rocks were sanctified with blood and daubed with vermilion. The practice of preparing such *Cakras* (circles of *Yantras*) was quite popular till recently.
41. See plates in this book.
42. See plates in this book.
43. See plates in this book. The *Kinnaras* are represented as semi-divine beings, with their horse-like long faces borne on human bodies.
44. See plates in this book.
45. See plates in this book.
46. See plates in this book.
47. See plates in this book.
48. See plates in this book.
49. See plates in this book.
50. See plates in this book.
51. *The Times Literary Supplement*, June 11, 1922.
52. Pp. 46-48; 307-308.
53. La Vallee Poussin, *Boudhisme: Etudes at materisux,* p. 135,

quoted by Eliade, *Yoga,* p. 260.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 141, quoted by Eliade, p. 260.
55. *Atharva-Veda*, XX, 136.
56. *Atharva Veda*, XV, 2; *Jaiminiya Brāhmana* II, 404 ff; *Apastamba Srauta Sūtra,* XXI, 17, 18, etc. The *Vratyas* possibly represented a mysterious brotherhood belonging to the advance guard of the Aryan invaders. (See Haner, *Dar Vratya*, pp. 260-265).
57. *Atharvaveda*, XV, 14, 15 ff.
58. *Yoga*, pp. 103-104.
59. *Sivasutra*, II, 5: *Vidyāsamutthāne Svābhāvike Khecarī Śivāvasthā.*
60. *Ma Vi Ta*, III, 4-5.
61. *Parātriṃśikā, passim.*
62. For *Khecarī* see *Tantrasadbhāva. loc. cit.*, *Śivasūtra*, II, 5. Comm.
63. In the *Mālinī Krama* the letters are arranged in an irregular way, i.e. from 'na' to 'Pha' (*Ma Vi Ta,* intr. p. XV).
64. The *Dhyānabindu* belongs to the group of *Yogic* Upanisads and is said to have been composed at about the same time as the chief *Saṃnyāsa Upanisads* and the didactic portions of the *Mahābhārata* (See E.W. Hopkins, "Yoga Technique in the Great Epic", *JADS*, XXII (1901) 379, *op cit*).
65. *Dhyānabindu*, 84 quoted in S.B. Dasgupta, *Obscure Religious Cults*, p. 279, n.1.
66. *Svacchanda*, IV, 76 ff.
67. *Ibid.*, 413 ff, 540-543, 67.
68. *Ibid.*, 240.
69. *Ibid.*, 292.
70. The *Ṛigveda Brāhmaṇas,* tr A.B. Keith, pp. 108-109.
71. *Svacchanda*, IV, 36 ff.
72. Infra. The Supreme Śiva is *one,* before whose oneness multiplicity trembles. Jiva's destiny is, therefore, reunion in Him.
73. The Supramental Śakti of Param Śiva in its primal movement towards manifestation, though inseparable from Him, is known as *Unmanā.* When the *Unmanā Śakti* begins to display herself in the form of the universe beginning with *Śūnya* and ending with earth, then descending from the highest state of *Pramāta* (knowing self), she is known as *Samanā.* She starts the mutation of all that is thinkable.

74. That Param Devī, because of the differences that she creates through Maya, is called Vāgīśi. *Svacchanda*, X, 1143.
75. *Svacchanda*, X, 1265 ff; IV 437; X, 1276-78 1280; IV 402.
76. IV, 107-120; *MT. Vidyāpāda*, VII, *passim.*
77. VIII, 88 ff.
78. Banerjea, *DHI* (first ed), pp. 220-21.
79. *Ma Vi Ta, VIII*, 90 ff.
80. *Ibid*.
81. *Svacchanda*, IV, 77.
82. *Ma Vi Ta*, VII 118-119 *Svacchanda*, IV, 77.
83. *Ibid.*, 130.
84. *Ibid.*,126-129.
85. *Svacchanda*, 132-133.
86. *Ibid.*, 131.
87. *Ibid.*, 135.
88. *Ibid.*, V, 47.
89. *Ibid.*, 49.
90. *NT*, X VI, 26 ff.
91. *NMP*, 388 ff.
92. *Ibid.*, 461, 1175-1191, 1315-1316, 1386-1393.
93. *Ibid.*, 1048 ff (Ghai edition).
94. *VI* , 52 ff.
95. *NT*, XX, 4-7.
96. *Svacchanda*, V, *48*.
97. See E.A, Gait, Human Sacrifice (Indian) *ERE*, VI, 849-53; P.B. Joshi, 'On the Rite of Human Sacrifice in Ancient, Mediaeval and Modern India and other Countries, '*J An SB* , III (1893, 275-300; R. Mitra, 'On Human Sacrifices in Ancient India,' *JRASB*, XLV (1876), 76-118.
98. See Joshi, *J An SB*.
99. *NT, XX, 9-15.*
100. *Ibid.*, 16-20.
101. *Ma Vi Ta*, VIII, *passim.*
102. *Nyāsa* means the assignment of the various parts of the body to tutelary deities.
103. *Vidya* 1, *Śuddha vidyā* 2, *Sahaja vidyā* 3. *Aśuddha vidyā, Ma Vi Ta*, VIII, 80 ff; 17 ff.
104. Hutton; *Caste in India*, p. 188.
105. II, 46 ff.
106. Winternitz, *HTL. op. cit.*, p. 589.

107. *Jayākhyā Saṃhitā*, XII, 112.
108. *Svacchanda*, II, 46-53.
109. *Ibid*., pp. 28-33.
110. *Gandharva Tantra*, XII, 24-27; XX IX, 24-25.
111. Cf. *Kaulamargarahasya*, p. 10. *Svacchanda*, 67.
112. *Ma Vi Tan*, XVIII, 2.
113. *Ibid*., 3-5.
114. *Ibid*., 5-6.
115. *Ibid*.
116. *Ibid*., XVIII, 8.
117. *Ibid*., 10ff.
118. *Svacchanda*, V, 48-49.
119. The sources for the meaning of the term mudrā are given in *Yoga*, Note VI, 4, pp. 405-406 (M. Eliade, 1958 edition).
120. Avalon, *Principles of Tantra*, preface, p. 6.
121. *ŚS*, II.5, Comm.
122. *TA*, XXXII.
123. VII, *passim*.
124. *Mā Vi Tan*, 1.
125. *Ibid*., 36.
126. Tr. Briggs, *Gorakhanath*, p. 298.
127. *Parātriṃśikā*, 1 ff.
128. See G. Iucci, *JRASB*, n.s. XXVI, 131.
129. *Mā Vi Tan*, XII, 7 ff.
130. *Ibid*., 28.
131. *Ibid*., 42.
132. *Ibid*., XII, 7ff.
133. *Ibid*., XVI, 47 ff, 23-24.
134. *Ibid*., XVI, 45-48.
135. *Ibid*., XV, 37 ff.
136. *Ibid*., XVI, 3.
137. *Ibid*., 6.
138. *Ibid*., 9.
139. Verses 24 ff.
140. *ŚS*, *passim*.
141. *VB*, 138.
142. *Pratyabhijñāhrdaya* , ff. 108-109.
143. *Mahanaya-Prakasa*, *passim*.
144. *Śivasūtra*, I.4 and comm; *RV*, X 125. 1-8.
145. *Ibid*., II. 1; *Tantrasadbhāva* quoted in Śiva-sūtra. *loc. cit*. II. 1.

146. *ŚS*, 1.6.
147. *Mā Vi Ta*, II, 22.
148. *ŚS*, I, 13.
149. *ŚS*, I, 19.
150. *Svacchanda*, X, 1028-1029, 1017-1025.
151. *ŚS*, *ibid*.
152. *ŚS*, II, B and Comm *VB*, 149.
153. *VB*, 149.
154. *ŚS*, II, 8.
155. *NT*, XIX, 53 ff.
156. *Ibid*., 60 ff.
157. *Ibid*., 65 ff.
158. See plates in this book. The displacement of *Aindrī* and *Yāmyā* seems to have been occasioned by the conception of the fivefold śaktis of *Citt*, *Ānand*, *Icchā*, *Jñāna*, and *Kriyā* of Śiva.
159. Even now on the southern bank of the Narmadā (Omkareśvara) there is a Sapta-mātṛkā temple and at a distance of 7 miles from it stands Śita-Vāṭikā, 3 miles to the northern bank of the river which is considered to be the seat of 64 *Yoginīs* and 52 Bhairavas. This confirms the practice of Śiva Śakti worship in an area where the tradition of first visiting the Sātmātā temple is followed by worship of 64 *Yoginīs*.
160. See plates in this book.
161. *RT*, *Rāj* i. 203 ff; *Haracar*, X. 248; *NMP* 912.
162. *ŚD*, VII, 117-118.
163. For the role of descent and kinship in mother-right see E.R.E. VIII. 851.
164. *RT*, i, 317.

The Khaśas are a people who inhabited Persia and Northern India before the Aryan immigration. There is still a *Krām* in Kashmir called Khosa. Though Manu says that the Saca, Yavana, the Pahlavas and the Khaśas of Central Asia were all Kshatriyas and Rājputs, we have many brāhmaṇa families in Kashmir even now being called Khośas and Khashus.

The Khásas, migrating from Central Asia, have always been referred to as a powerful race and are supposed to have left their name in Kashgar, Kashkara, the Hindu-Kush, Kashmir and in the colonies bearing similar root names in the

hill area extending from Kashmir to Nepal. Also refer to the *Mahābhārata, Harivamsa* and the *Purānas* which mention the Khaśas as a tribe inhabiting the north-western Himālayas. For further details of Khaśas see *RT*, Vii 979, 1271 ff; Viii 887, 1466, 1868, 1895.

165. North Western Provinces, part II, p. 363, Rahul Sānkrtyāyana believes that the Khaśas entered the Himālayas from Eastern Central Asia in about 2000 B.C. (*Himālaya Paricaya*).

166. A polyandrous belt has been traced by anthropologists extending from Jaunsar Bawar through Kangra Valley to Hindu Kush and even beyond.

167. *RT*, i. 312-316.

168. *Ibid.*, i. 307 n; Mbh (Roy's ed:) Karnaparvan, section XIIV-XLV, pp. 152-160.

169. see the Calcutta and Paris editions of the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* Book I, vv 308-309 (Paris edition) MDCCC XL.

170. "Their women (of the Vahikas) intoxicated with drink and divested of robes, laugh and dance outside the walls of houses in cities, without (sic. with) garlands and unguents, singing all the while drunken and obscene songs of diverse kinds . . . . in intercourse they are absolutely without any restraint." (*Mbh* (Roy's edn) *Karnaparva*, XLIV, VV 12-13, p. 153).

It is likely that Kashmir may be a corrupted form of Khasir, the land of the Khaśas. Khaśa and Khasira look as more probable etymologies. Legend has it that Kasyapa to whom is attributed the origin of the country of Kashmir, had Khaśa as one of his wives (see Vishnu Purāṇa). Of his numerous wives Krodhavasa gave birth to cannibal Pisaca and Khaśa to Yakshas and Raksasas. (Bhagavata Purāṇa).

171. *Mbh* (Roy's edn) *Karnaparvan*, section XLIV-XLV, pp 152-160.

172. *RT*, i. 307.

173. Prasthala has been identified with Patiala, see "Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India" by Nundgopal Dey, in *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. L III, Sup: 159.

174. "Between the Ravi and the Chenab", *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. C. I. p. 116 (Supp).

175. "Aratta region was the Punjab", *Indian Antiquary*, XLIX, p. 10 (Supp) was famous for horses. see Athasastra, p. 116, Ch. XXX (R. Shamasastry's 2nd ed., 1923).

176. Mbh (Roy's edn) *Karnaparvan*, V. 13, p. 157.
177. "On the question whether polyandry ever existed in Northern Hindustan," *Indian Antiquary*, Vol. VI, pp. 315-317; *Kumaon Rulings for Civil Courts*, collected and edited by V.A. Stowell, 1919.
178. Some eminent ethnologists have discarded the theory of original/promiscuity. see Dr. Rivers in Hastings's Encyclopaedia of Ethics and Religion, Vol. VIII, p. 432; Lowie, p. 59.
179. *NMP* (Ghai ed) 251, 253-255, 262 ff.
180. The Shakas, the Ṭaṅganas, the Mandavas, etc. are the tribes referred to in the *Nilamata Purāṇa* (145-146).
181. *Ibid* ., 276-78.
182. *Indian Antiquary*, XLIX, p. 10 (supplement). *Artha Shastra*, p. 166, Ch: XXX (R. Shamasastry, 2nd ed., 1923).
183. *E.R.E.*, VIII 851.
184. *RT*, iii, 386, 477; iv 45 ff.
185. See also Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 78.
186. *E.R.E.*, VIII, p. 851, 858; *Mbh;* Varahamihira's *Brhatsamhita.*
187. *RT*, IV, 173-74, 185, 587-88.
188. The Chinese annals corroborate the statement of Houen Tsang (see Atkinson, N. W. P. Gazetteers, Vol. XI (1884), 458-459; Beal, Vol. I p. 199, "for ages a woman has been the ruler" and so it is called "the kingdom of the women," (*Buddhist Records of the Western World*, 2 Vols. (1884).
RT, I. 122. These are also referred to as Devicakaras (I. 333).
189. *Mbh*, XII, 257. 9-10.
190. II, 13.35, S. sastry's ed., p. 258.
191. *Simthan Excavations* (1983-1984) reveal that sesamum was cultivated from a very early period, the remains going back to the period of the Harappan culture.
192. *NT*, XVI, 87 ff; XVII, 5-7.
193. *Devi-rahasya*, XIX, *passim*.
194. *NT*, XVIII, 1-8.
195. *Ibid.*, 9-20.
196. *Ibid.*, 20 ff.
197. *Ibid.*, 23 ff.
198. *Svacchanda*, 68-71.
199. *Devi-rahasya*, pp. 382 ff.
200. *Svacchanda*, 76, 77-79.

5

Śaivācāryas

The *guru* occupies a key position in the initiatory structure of tāntrism. Strictly speaking, a *guru* is a man or woman who gives *dīkṣā* (initiation) into Śaiva yoga; the guidance of a master being necessary in all traditional disciplines or crafts. The Yogin applies himself to the practice of Yoga only after he has been initiated and guided by his *guru*. The *guru*, or the *ācārya*, should not be regarded as a kind of inert yogin. In one sense, he plays a highly positive and active social role. Initiation in the tāntric path can be performed only by a guru; he alone can communicate esoteric doctrine. For millenniums the disciplines have thus been transmitted from "mouth to ear". He is an integral part of that collective life in which he shows his readiness for an early start in the initiation of his disciple. Since he is ever in a state of unified awareness, he acts as master to his *śiṣya*. In a hierarchical interdependence and ritualistic interpersonal relations, we are introduced to him as the only recognized guide to his disciple. As the yogin enters the transcendent mode of being, the *guru* plays a considerable part in all forms of yoga and initiation. Under his direction and guidance, the disciple attempts to recover the sense of wholeness; he undertakes a psychic excursion into universal consciousness. His psychic reorientation makes him adapt himself to a state that is beyond the state of common human experience. The *sādhaka* completely submits himself to his master's will; in this sense submission is axiomatic to the relationship. There is a more subtle form of interdependence; the *guru* ideal is but an imperfect projection on to another person of the 'Inner master', the 'guru within.' According

to the *Parātriṁśikā* analysis, there can be no 'other', neither master nor pupil, only the *One*. Abhinavagupta makes it very clear that the possession of *jñāna* makes the *guru-śiṣya* one indivisible whole;[1] the *guru* and the initiate merge into one.

Like his predecessor, the *guru* of the Vedic period, the *Śaivācārya* is a part of the social life. His role is within the society, as the *ācārya* who sees the inter-connectedness of all things. The initiatory and Śaiva sacrificial rites suggest integral oneness; there is no question of the ācārya renouncing society. The symbiosis between the *guru* and the disciple is an essential feature of the tāntric *sādhanā;* the one needs the other as much as the disciple needs the guru; the two are complementary to one another. *Dīkṣā* is action (*Kriyā*).[2] The *guru* and the *śiṣya* live as members of a religious community. The perfect *guru* evolves a special form of esoteric instruction for initiates.

The bond of inter-connectedness between and *guru* and the *śiṣya* may be seen in the *āśrama* where they live. We get a glimpse of the *āśrama*-life from one of the disciples of Abhinavagupta. The *śiṣya* from Madurai pays a poetic tribute to his master in his *Gurunātha-Parāmarśa.* Probably, Madhurāja, the disciple of Abhinava, was a late contemporary of his master (c. A.D. 960-1040). He gives us the pen-portrait of Abhinavaguptācārya. We find an arcadian milieu of the *āśrama* Guptapura near what is now known as Buṭakadal (Srinagar). Madhurāja first offers his salutation to Durvāsā, who is described as the first *daiśika,* proficient in all the *Upaniṣads* and then to Vasugupta, Somānanda, Utpala, Abhinavagupta and Kṣemarāja, the other *ācāryas.*[3] In the middle of the vineyard, says Madhurāja, is a platform (*maṇḍapa*) of marble stone studded with precious rubies and painted with miniature paintings of flowers, birds, etc. The *maṇḍapa* radiated the fragrance of flowers, garlands, incense, burning earthen lamps and was smeared with sandal, *agru, gorocana,* etc. It constantly resounded with a dance orchestra. The *maṇḍapa* was full of *yoginīs* and *siddhas*. On a golden seat placed on the marble platform decorated with rubies and hangings of pearl-strings on all its four sides, is seated Abhinavagupta. Seated below close to him are Kṣemarāja and other pupils in service and in rapt attention writing what was spasmodically uttered by their *guru*. On either side of the master stood the two *yoginīs* (*dūtīs*), each holding in one of their hands a goblet full of wine, *Śivarasa* and a casket containing betel, and in the other the citron fruit and a water-lily.[4] Madhurāja next describes the personality of his master. In an

ecstasy of delight his eyes rolled in intoxication or were half closed (*ardha-nimīlita*), bearing a holy mark of ashes on his forehead, the *rudrākṣa* beads dangling in his ears, his long hair tied and crowned in position by means of a garland of flowers, his flowing beard shining bright. He carried a lustrous body, the dark white throat smeared with a camphor-ointment cosmetics. He wore a white moon-like resplendent silken robe and was seated in *vīrāsana*. Resting one of his hands (the right one) on the knee, he is seen in the posture of Param Śiva (*Jñāna-mudrā*) (indicative of Universal knowledge), bearing the *japa* rosary (*akṣasūtra*). With the nail-tips of his left hand he plays upon the *Ektārā*. He had descended upon Kashmir, out of compassion for humanity, as Dakṣiṇāmūrti in the garb of Abhinava. He is the lord of *Daiśikas* or the *diksa-guru* who can make the initiates cross the ocean of *saṁsāra*. He is a *Siddha-Sārasvata*; his utterances are sweet and joyous; to his disciples the nectar given by gods is tasteless like the sour-gruel.[5]

From his lotus-mouth flows the grape-wine of Śivādvaita;[6] and perfectly silenced are the doubts of the dualists (*Pāśava-Śāsana*).[7] 'To us, through the grace of Parameśvara Abhinava', says the disciple, 'whose hearts enshrine the deity of the self, there is little or no faith in many lifeless images of clay, copper, gold, and stone'.[8] Through the favour of Abhinava Parameśvara are removed the physical afflictions as also the anxiety of depriving others of their wealth or relying on others' doctrines.[9] Abhinavagupta graces the position of an *ācārya* because of his thorough grasp of *Siddhānta, Vāma-marga, Yamala, Kaula, Trika, Ekvīra*.[10] Abhinavagupta somewhere got into close communion with *Deśikāyoginīs* (*mātṛkās*) who disporting themselves with him, said, "Till this day the flow of this entire guru-tradition (*guru-krama*) is reflected in you."[11] The most exalted compassionate *guru* is adored for fulfilling all desires, like the *Kalpa-tree*, of those who are engaged in the philosophical doctrines of dualism for whom he has composed *Pañcaśika*. For the argumentative debaters he has composed the *Kathāmukha-māhatilaka*, explaining the sixteen substances given in *Nyāya*.[12] Guru is Śiva; he bestows *Śivatva*. There is none else to give *bhoga* through *karmas*. *Śiva* alone is *guru*; he is the embodiment of kindness. How can there be any one else to tear the *paśu-pāśas* (bonds of creaturehood) asunder.[13] His face shines like a mirror and if he enters the disciple's heart, he is verily Śiva.[14] The *daiśika* is greatly merciful (*kāruṇika*). The writings of Abhinavagupta are like the

writings inscribed on one's heart while those of others are ephemeral like the writing on water.[15] He maintains the *guru-krama* of *deśika-Yoginīs*, a method of achieving quick *samādhi*.[16] He is frequently addressed as daiśika,[17] a spiritual guide, an experienced physician, who through the teachings of *Śivādvaya*, (Śaiva monism) pacifies the afflicted world.[18] The emotional link of the *guru-śiṣya* relationship is obvious; the master is something more than a teacher. This link is recognized in his being the incarnation of Śrīkaṇṭha[19] and takes the form of ritualized worship on the master's birthday (*guru-pūjā*). There is a polarization of personalities which is of psychological origin. The *guru-śiṣya* relationship is a perfectly genuine psychic reality. There is no going back on it.

The life-style of Abhinavagupta's *āśrama* is closely connected with an aristocratic mode of living. That this must have been so with the earlier *ācāryas* is impliedly suggested by the fact that nowhere do other *Śaivagurus* disapprove of such living or prescribe austerity. Mahāguru Vasugupta, Prabhu Somananda, Ācārya Utpala too seem to have enjoyed a worldly life, free from inhibitions and restraints.[20] Though wine and possibly meat (*bali* not being prohibited) formed an essential part of the Śaivaistic ritual, we do not find a hedonistic aspect in the life of the Śaivas. Wine, meat, fish are usually regarded as aphrodisiac (*uttejaka*) preparations[21] to the final *maithuna* between the initiated adept (*vīra*) and his female partner (*Yoginī*); it is likely that these were used, though we have no direct evidence to the partaking of other ingredients like meat and fish. The identification of the ritual foods with the body or body-products of Śiva-Śakti was supposed to confer on the communicant consubstantiality with them. The Kaulikas may have used these foods sparingly since other food-grains were available in abundance throughout the valley. There is nothing to indicate that the *kaulikas* indulged in hedonistic licentiousness or that they were sybaritic materialists. The Āgamas nowhere espouse a thoroughly hedonistic code of conduct. Vīras and Yoginīs were highly disciplined initiates and the ritual intercourse between the two was a means of attaining *kaulikasiddhi* rather than gratifying the lusts of the flesh. Life in a Śaiva *āśrama* is very sweet, pleasant, and garland-giving; it differs little from the social life of the individuals, it is more like the aesthetic life of cultured and cultivated intellectuals, the lesson of which is that inner concentration can be achieved in the midst of hectic activity,

music and dance, by the consistent practice of Śaiva-Yoga, all of which have a physical basis, and not by harsh penances or suppression of emotions and desires, or mortification of the flesh by *haṭhayoga*. There are no artificial stimuli to obtain control over the body.

The vastness of Āgama Śastra envisages a long gestation period through which the literature was composed in different parts of the country. The regions in the extreme north, probably the secluded but bountiful valley of Kashmir and its environs, appear to have been the ideal *āśrama*-sites where the early authoritative texts were composed and the traditional doctrines (*Śiva-śāsana* or *Śiva-Āgama*) expounded. The *āśrama* of Abhinavagupta and his prolific writings suggest that similar *āśramas* existed in the past where the *ṛṣis* and noble souls practised the esoteric knowledge of the Śaivas and knew their mystic truths.[22] The Śaiva doctrines seem to have suffered as a result of the Kali age which forced these *ṛṣis* and noble souls to retire to some unknown and inaccessible *Kalāpigrāma* (most probably in Tibet), far away from the human reach.[23] It appears that owing to some social upheaval or schism in Śaivism, *Śivādvaya* was in eclipse for a considerable period and it seems to have lost the patronage of a very influential class which forced them to seek shelter in mountain fastnesses. We cannot definitely say when it retrieved its fortunes. The legend has it that Śrīkaṇṭhanātha's inspiration to Muni Durvāsā on the Kailaśa made the latter revive the *Advaita* tradition through his disciple, Tryambakāditya.[24] Both Durvāsā and Tryambakāditya, do not appear to have been invoked to gain sanctity and support from those dissidents who had challenged some of its doctrines. Tryambakāditya I propagated these doctrines in and around Kailāśa for some time.[25] Obviously, Tryambakāditya must have faced learned disputants and logicians before their conversion to his teachings. This seems to have involved his whole life-span before he could gain a firm foothold for his *śāsana*. Before his death, he entrusted his unfinished work to his disciple Tryambaka II.[26] We are not in a position to determine the relation of Tryambaka I to Tryambaka II. Possibly the disciple was his son, well acquainted with the mental climate and aspirations of the people in his region. He could not have been an imported novice hardly able to challenge the views of the other schools of *Dvaitā* and *Dvaitādvaita*. That he was a mind-born son of Tryambakāditya I suggests that he had been invested with

complete authority by his father to carry on his mission unopposed by his other co-disciples.[27] *Śivadṛṣṭi* mentions fourteen generations of *Siddhas*, without naming any one of them.[28] It appears that they were next of kin and may be belonged to other tribal bands who had by now been assimilated in the Advaita-cult. They were designated by the ancestral name of Tryambakāditya. Most, if not all of them, appear to have been mythical figures. The next historical personage of whom we know any thing is Tryambaka XV,[29] well versed in all the *śāstras*, who is said to have broken the tradition of celibacy and married an accomplished brāhmaṇa girl.[30] Were all his predecessors confirmed bachelors or had they taken their wives from other groups that had no social status? It appears that most of Tryambakaditya's marital relations did not have any social approval, for otherwise a specific reference of Tryambaka XV's marriage with a brāhmaṇa girl would not have been mentioned at all nor would the birth of *mānasaputras* stop here. It is unlikely that all the *gurus* were unmarried and that the fifteenth *guru* was the first to break this tradition and to choose a married life for himself. Whatever the circumstances, Tryambakāditya's position seems to have been elevated and morally improved by this matrimony to which the bride's father seems to have consented only after Tryambakāditya had personally approached him. His son, Saṁgamāditya, had to settle in Kashmir according to the customs of a matrilineal society. Thus sometime around the eighth century Saṁgamāditya seems to have settled down in Kashmir,[31] permanently. Obviously, the marriage with a brāhmaṇa girl was not a casual occurrence. It not only improved and elevated the status of Saṁgamāditya, the progeny of such a marriage, but also gave him a new home and a new field of activity in Kashmir. The very name Saṁgamāditya suggests that it was a union of persons in holy matrimony, the marriage ceremony having been solemnized according to brāhmaṇic rituals. The sixteenth generation of Saṁgamāditya, allowing an average of thirty years to each generation in the healthy surroundings of Kailāśa, points to the conclusion that Śivādvaita must have flourished sometime in A.D. 220 which, of course, corresponds to the rule of Kuṣāṇas in Kashmir with whom Nana appears as a favourite goddess on their coins along with the figure of Śiva. All this evidence tends to suggest that some of the Śaivācāryas in the line of Tryambakāditya II and, later on, in the person of Saṁgamāditya had close links with

Kashmir and that their faith throve towards the Kuṣāṇa and post-Kuṣāṇa periods, the period of cultural regeneration and economic prosperity with the restoration of trade-routes from Tibet to Kashmir and from Kashmir to the remotest areas of Central Asia, including Tibet and Mongolia (now Chinese Mongolia).

Long before the coming of Saṁgamāditya, the valley had a strong traditional base of placing 'circles sacred to the Mothers' (*mātṛcakra*),[32] going back to the period of Jalauka, the son of Aśoka. The worship of the 'mothers' that plays a great part in the tantra ritual seems to have flourished from very ancient times and the ritual of human sacrifice to them (*devīcakra*) was quite prevalent.[33] The sacrificial offerings made by Bhaṭṭa, a sorceress, and her aerial flight suggest that *shamanic* practices were very common. This establishes a connection between the human sacrifices and skull-hunts attested to by the religious and medicinal practices of the shamanas in the hilly tracts, and a matriarchal ideology that prevailed in this Himālayan region and Tibet. The maṭhas of Kheri, the image of the god Satakapāleśa, the circle of the mothers,[34] indicate that the Śakti-worship claimed a large number of followers. Usually, along with the shrine of Śiva-Ugreśa was laid out a 'circle of mothers'.[35] The mystical diagrams were carved in stone like the *Śrīcakras* and *Rājñīcakras* which are prepared and worshipped in private houses and temples even today. The worship of Bhairava along with a 'circle of mothers' was a common feature even in the time of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883).[36] The coming of Saṁgamāditya to Kashmir is a landmark in the history of the Āgamas. His son was Varṣāditya; Varṣāditya begot Aruṇāditya; Aruṇāditya's son Ānanda was the father of Somānanda.[37] The Śiva-Śakti concept evolved to a degree that it gave a new dimension to the Śākta cult. The drawing of mystical diagrams on rocks and the worship of Bhairava, in due course, led to the composition of Śivasūtras which betray a pronounced Śākta influence. Vasugupta (c. A.D. 725-790) seems to have been the first Siddha to put in a *Sūtra* form the doctrines of Śivādvaita, which, in fact, reveal a syncretic character of Bhairava cult and mother-worship. We do not know whether Vasugupta was married or not. But the internal evidence indicates that he probably lived a married life as he frequently refers to the host of Śaktis[38] and devotes one section to Śāktopāya.[39] He lived in the Hārvan valley at the foot of Mahādevagiri, not far away from the city of Srinagar. Kallaṭa in

the *Spanda-vṛtti*, Bhāskara (c. tenth century) in his commentary *Vimarśinī*, are one in maintaining that this *siddha* lived in the beautiful valley of Harvan. Kallaṭa flourished in the earlier reign period of Avantivarman, which would suggest that his *guru*, Vasugupta, lived in the first quarter of the eighth century. Both in the writings of Vasugupta and Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa there is hardly any reference to Vedānta, which indicates that Śaivāgamas and Śaiva Yoga were developed independently of the Vedic influence. Coming to the period of Somānanda (author of *Śivadṛṣṭi*) who followed Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa, it appears that Vedānta had started influencing the tāntrics as they take several such view points, particularly the Upaniṣadic thought, into consideration. Somānanda flourished in the second half of the ninth century. Utpala lived sometime around the last quarter of ninth century. He was married and had a son. Abhinavagupta lived in the last quarter of the tenth century and wrote the valuable commentary of the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* called the *Tantrāloka*. In his *Parātriśikā* he critically examines the Advaita Brahmavāda including *Sāmkhya*.[40] Abhinava refers to his parents as *Vīra* and *Yoginī* and feels very proud of his being their offspring. As *Vīra-Yoginī sampradāya* was accorded a high place in his *kula* and Trika system, it is likely that he lived a married life and possessed a rich experience of sex and its place in social life.[41]

The Śivādvya movement originated and continued by these historical figures who were later mythicized under the names of Tryambakas, Pañcamukhas (Abhinava's father Narasiṁha), Chakhulaka and other famous Siddhas represents a fresh ground swell of the deep spirituality that reached down to the aboriginal strata of society. The folklores, anthologies, and the commentaries that have crystallized around these Śaivācāryas suggest the enormous popular response these masters aroused between the collapse of Buddhism and the rise of the Śiva-Śakti doctrines. These anthologies and folklores actually represent the contents of an extremely advanced philosophy, and hence unrecorded, by the "official" cultural circles—that is, by circles more or less dependent upon a learned tradition. These folklores and anthologies were inspired by tāntric saints and masters and Siddhas but were seldom taken note of by the chroniclers of that period. Kalhana, for instance, observes that in the time of Avantivarman, the illustrious Bhaṭṭa Kallaṭa and other *siddhas* descended to the earth for the

benefit of the people.[42] Only a few episodes of such *siddhas* have been related as were directly concerned with the economic welfare of the people.[43] The popular legends and Sanskrit literature created around Abhinavagupta, his parents, and the Siddhas give expression to the real spiritual longings of the lay devotees. Vimalakalā, Abhinavagupta's mother, denotes that she is a *Yoginī*; Bharitatanu implies that his father is a *Vīra*; and the offshoot of a *Vīra* and *Yoginī* was considered a *Yoginībhū* in those days. Abhinavagupta claims himself to be a *Yoginībhū* because of being the offspring of such a couple, and the very name Abhinava suggests that his mother is enjoying a festival (*utsava*) in her heart. The original name of his father was Narasimha Gupta, who, in the common dialect, was called Chakhulaka whose glory was indicated by the appellation Pañcamukhi. The tendency to mythicize these historical figures, under the names bearing Śiva-Śakti meaning shows the enormous importance of the motif of Rudra-Śakti in the folklores and literature of the Śaivas and Śaivācāryas—an importance that leads us to believe that this particular motif (which continues and completes the process of manifestation and dissolution of the universe through the mother-face) expresses the nostalgia of the Śaivas as a whole.

We know almost nothing about those Aghorīs or Śivaist ascetics who are believed to have been the authors of the *Siddhayogīśvarīmata* or the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*;[44] now the only extant text of Trika doctrines. Their lives were distorted by countless myths and were almost deified. But as followers of the Mālinī school, they performed sacrifices, took purificatory baths and considered themselves as akin to Siva.[45] They observed *mātṛikānyāsa* (assigning each part of the body to the corresponding letters of the alphabet) and *Śāktanyāsa* (identifying the body with the three *vidyās*).[46] They were under the vows of worshipping their deity, the fire, the spiritual teacher, the goddesses; they were not to eat without offering their food to them, not to use the property dedicated to the deity, the *guru* and Caṇḍi, not to engage in idle and unavailing pursuits. This yogic order had to practise the ideology and discipline of Saiva-Yoga.[47] They drew the mystic diagrams on a carefully selected piece of ground in conformity with the rules and regulations of the *Mālinīvijayottara-tantram*. In its centre they invoked Bhairava and offered their worship to him.[48] It appears that such yogis, according to the degree of divine inspiration, were

grouped under four categories: *Samprāpta, Ghatamāna, Siddha,* and *Siddhatama*. Those who receive initiation through a line of teachers and live upto it are called *Samprāpta*. *Ghatamāna* restrains his mind from the outside influence and concentrates it on the truth.[49] The *Siddhayogī* acquires the complete discipline of his mind in his exclusive concentration on the truth.[50] The *Siddhatama* is one who gets totally identified with the highest principle, losing his individuality to the utter disregard of the circumstances he is placed in. He is like Sadāśiva and a highly enlightened Yogī.[51] At this stage he is in a position to uplift the afflicted humanity.[52] The *Mālinī* thus makes it very clear that there were several categories of Siddhas. We shall only note that all yogins who attained "perfection" could receive the name of *Siddha*, but the fact that this term is connected with *kriyāsiddhi* indicates that what was in question was primarily an exercise in complete identification with the highest principle and not some "miraculous powers." Though the list of these Siddhas and Siddhatamas has not come down to us, we are, however, introduced to a distinction in their achievements and traditions. It appears that these traditions of Siddhas and Siddhatamas correspond to the traditions of the Siddhas and Siddācāryas peculiar to Sahajīya Buddhism. They enjoyed a pre-eminent position in the hierarchy of Śaivācāryas.

Guru and *ācārya* are two interchangeable synonyms. Though a *guru* is a master who imparts instruction, and an *ācārya* elucidates mystic teachings, the Āgamas do not draw any clear line of demarcation between the two. Rather they use them indiscriminately and apply the term *guru* to *mātṛkās* or *Yoginīs* even.[53] In tāntric ceremonies housewives assumed the dignity of a *guru*.[54] The *guru* (spiritual teacher) is defined as one who knows all the *tattvas* (thirty-six in number) in their true perspective. He is Śiva and the revealer of the potency of *mantras*. At his mere touch people get purged of all their sins accumulated in several births.[55] Just a mere glimpse of him, a discourse with him, a mere touch or mere remembrance of him incorporates *Śivatattva* in the disciple who never goes down from that highest state. He purifies his disciples of all the impurities peculiar to the different worlds;[56] he removes the *pāśas* or *malas* of the individual *paśu*.[57] The *ācāryas* are of three kinds: *Karmī* (engaged in ritual activity), Yogī, *Jñānī*. Of these the last one is superior to all;[58] such a *Yogīśvara* is called *Mahāsiddha*.[59] His *dīkṣā* is called *kriyā* which gives salvation through *jñāna*.[60] Guru

is the highest mantra, the highest *japa*, the *para-vidyā* (the highest knowledge).[61] Ācārya, an integral part of Śiva, is literally said to be in communion with Him.[62] He should be of Āryadeśa, conversant with *dīkṣā*, truthful, controlled in senses, compassionate, energetic, self-less, refraining from falsehood, adept in Śivasāstras. Such an *ācārya* alone can help achieve siddhis.[63] This indicates a preference for the *ācāryas* from Āryadeśa over those who probably belonged to those social groups that were outside the orbit of the Vedic influence. This was a curious device to safeguard their material interests. The *Netra Tantra* explicitly states that the *mantras* of that *ācārya* who is worshipped with gifts and respected with other presents bring comforts and avert all mishaps and calamities.[64] The division of the *gurus* in accordance with the theory of *guṇas* (*tamas*, *rajas*, and *sattvas*) points to the same conclusion.[65] About the disciple, it is stated that he should be compassionate, full of fortitude, not insincere, not deceitful, steadfast, devoted to the deity, fire, *guru*, *śāstras*, controlled in senses and in the service of the *guru*.[66] The *guru-śiṣya* relationship obviously suggests that their relationship was as much material as it was spiritual. There is nothing that would tend to prove only the spiritual link between the master and the disciple to the exclusion of the material gains of the *guru*. Those mean persons who are not devoted to the *guru*, *devas*, *agni*, *śāstras* and argue outside the *Parameśa Parādoyāgamas* and take refuge in dry logic are perplexed in *amokṣa* by *māya*. Such persons never grow up, deprived as they are of *Śiva-dīkṣā*.[67] Those who do not talk of anything else but know only of Param Śiva are the self-adoring Śaivas; they do not attain the highest state (*Param-pada*), for, on becoming Param Śiva they hardly stand in need of that state. Being possessed of the highest *tattva*, the indistinguishable whole, the *ācārya* is Śiva without any division[68] or distinction in all. He is full of three Śaktis—*para*, *apara*, *parāpara*.[69] One who thinks of the one *Abheda Śiva* is called an *ācārya*. One who conducts oneself in the true nature of Śiva, is one in his *vimarśa* (thinking) is called an *acarya*.[70] They are Sivas who have really obtained *ācārya* stage.[71] There is none equal to them in this world. The *guru* is Śiva in the form of an *ācārya* come down to extend his grace to the people.[72] A *sādhaka*, aspiring to the position of an *ācārya*, should acquire a higher mode of initiation. The formation of diagrams and *kuṇḍas*[73] and other external requisites are not so much significant as the fact that his body is burnt by the bright fire of energy and thereafter

considers himself as possessed of an ethereal form purged off the impurities closely accompanying the principle of materiality.[74] The inspiration of Śivasakti in him is revealed by a number of signs such as the five states of happiness, the awakening of the serpent force, the bodily tremulation, sleep and intoxication.[75] Only such a *guru* is capable of giving *mokṣa*.[76] This is the new mode of being which invests him with psychic powers and *siddhis*. When the excellent *guru* reveals to the disciple that mystery of God-consciousness in its wholeness, the disciple is undoubtedly liberated that very moment and afterwards remains in the body like a machine.[77] The *Svacchanda Tantra* mentions that those men who, in the holy land of Bhāratavarṣa, worship Tryambaka (Maheśvara), even once with the desire of sporting or sexual union and with *yajña* etc go to Meru and, having been initiated, always worship him and are liberated.[78] Music, dance, etc are considered as parts of the worship.[79] The worship of Śakti for arousing consciousness could not be performed without the guidance of a *guru*. That is why Ācāryas Somānanda and Utpaladeva describe Bhaṭṭa Pradyumna Śākta *gurus* as of their own kind, a relation or one's belongings (*sva-yūthya*). The *ācārya* is the spiritual overlord who, through the water-pot (*kalasa*), made effective by *mantras*, gives protection, peace and prosperity to children overcome by evil spirits.[80] Whosoever is consecrated by the *ācārya*, his prosperity or *rājya* remains stable.[81] This shows that the clientele vassals of these brāhmaṇa *ācāryas* generally consisted of persons of a high order, namely, Ksatriyas. Such a Ksatriya *rāja* is victorious in battle and the pride of his enemies is crushed.[82] It is *ācārya's icchā* (wish), that accomplishes everything.[83] The *ācārya* should treat his devotees (*bhaktas*) like his own children and wife.[84] This reveals the paternalistic attitude of the overlord to his vassal family. He removes the darkness arising from the *āṇava* and *māyīya malas* through *dīkṣā* in the manner of the rising sun.[85] The element of feudal service is apparent. The *guru* should be satisfied with personal attendance, riches, good knowledge and virtuous deeds of the disciple. Only a fully satisfied *guru's* knowledge imparted to the disciple leads to *siddhi*.[86]

The *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* gives a clear instance of lord-vassal relationship. In the centre of the mystic diagrams, drawn on a carefully selected piece of ground by the initiated *sādhaka*, he invokes the Bhairava and offers his *pūjā* thus: "At thy dictate, O Parameśvara, I have been installed in the position of a preceptor.

The disciples are fully under the sanctifying influence of Śivasakti. They, as such, deserve thy favour. They have sought Thy help in securing it. Therefore, O Lord, I pray be kind to me and let my body be enshrined by Thee so that I may be qualified to render them due assistance."[87] The spiritual overlord invokes divine blessing to act as guardian to his *sādhaka*-vassals who approach him for protection and assistance. That is how he identifies himself with his disciples and with the path in which the disciple is to be initiated by the holy faith. He says "I alone am the supreme reality; this whole universe is in me; I am the stay and support of this all."[88] He claims unquestioning authority and the sole right of protection. For obtaining the highest *siddhi* (*param-siddhi*), *guru* is the only means (*upāya*).[89] Devotion to *guru* ensures the happiness of *sādhakas*, *samayis*, cows, brāhmaṇas, young women, ascetics, Kumaris.[90] The five indicative marks of the Rudra-Śakti in him are—firm devotion to Rudra, the success of the *mantra*, the control over all creatures, completion of all undertakings etc.[91] The word *Rudra* is explained as "he who drives away the miseries of bondage."[92] This establishes the supreme control of the overlord over his initiates who enjoy his kindly protection and promise to fulfil all their undertakings in lieu of their complete surrender to him and faith in his capacity to drive away their misery. It seems as if there was a specific contract between the *guru* and the Bhairava in the matter of the sadhka's safety in their spiritual excursion.

Althouth the texts do not differentiate between an *ācārya* and *daiśika*, it appears that the latter enjoyed a higher status.[93] A *deśika* is described as full of knowledge (*jñāna*), *yoga* and energy (*bala*), as liberated soul (*Jīvana-muktas*), free from worldly bonds and great delusion (*akhyatirupe maya*).[94] The *daiśika* understands, through *Śivayāga* arranged for *dīkṣā*, that everything is pervaded by *māyā*.[95] The *Svacchanda Tantra* makes it very clear that *deśika* is *dīkṣā-guru* (*upadeṣṭā*) who guides and engages the disciple in *ātma-tattva*, in *Parameśvara Saṁhitās*, in knowing the essence and meaning of *guru*, *śila*, comprising the discipline of the body, mind, sense-objects, self-discipline and regulations, right conduct (*ācāra*) according to the rules of the *śāstras*.[96] In his commentary part Abhinavagupta explains the meaning of *daiśika* as one who has mastered the teaching (*upadeśa*) in *Vāma-mārga* (left-hand path), knows the *para-tattva* (the ultimate principle) and has his *saṁskāras* in *Kula*, *Kaula*, *Trika*, etc.[97] The *ācārya* himself was highly proficient in the

principles of *Vāma, Bhairava Yāmala, Kaula* and *Trika* for which Madhurāja has frequently referred to him by the appellation of *deśika.*[98] Since four types of *dīkṣā*: *Sāmayika-dīkṣā, Pautraka-dīkṣā, Sādhaka-dīkṣā* and *Ācāryaka-dīkṣā* have been referred to, he seems to have enjoyed a dominant position in the tāntric lore.[99] Another synonym for *deśika* is *deśācārya* which also means a *dīkṣā-guru.*[100] He differed from an *Upādhyāya* who is a Śāstra-guru.[101]

On the basis of gnosis and *siddhis,* four broad categories of *ācāryas* may be identified: *Jñāni* (possessor of esoteric knowledge), *Yogī* (possessor of spiritual powers), *Jñānayogasiddha* (*Jñāni* and *Yogī* both), *Sāṁsiddhayogī.* Whether it is a guru or a *śiṣya,* it is *jñāna* (gnosis) that makes them one; from the standpoint of universal consciousness (*Saṁvid*), there is no division between a *guru* and a disciple. *Jñāna* is one, it is indivisible. Universal consciousness pervades the whole of the universe and the *guru* who understands its manifestation in different forms is himself Śiva can liberate himself and his disciples. In the entire tradition of disciples, according to the *Āgamas,* he is the primeval *guru* who, on attaining true *jñāna,* is liberated and effects the liberation of all the generations of disciples. In this *Kula-Karma* (family tradition of the disciples), he is regarded as the Ādi-guru. According to Śaiva tradition, he is both *Muni* and *Ṛṣi* in one, as he combines in himself the true perception of *mantra* as *Ṛṣi* and its right analysis as *Muni.* When the *guru* is seized of one single vibration of universal consciousness, the distinction of a *śiṣya* and *guru* vanishes. We may call him liberated or a Siddha.[102] Derived from the root *man* which does not explain its *ukāra,* it is certain that *Muni* does not belong to Indo-European roots. It appears to have been the word of some non-Āryan tribe;[103] and the *Munis* seem to be a class of ascetics whose iconographic representation[104] indicates that they were the *gurus* of their own kinsmen.

The *Yogī* is described as one who has acquired control over the group of *Śaktis* and is thus an instrument of enlightenment. He disseminates knowledge of the self and is competent to awaken the seekers from their sleep of ignorance through his *jñāna-śakti.* Being well-established in *kulācāra* (the customary usage of 'kula'), he enables people to cross the extensive ocean of worldly existence.[105] The universe is the unfoldment of his power[106] (*kriyā-śakti*). The scriptures maintain that the entire world is *Śiva-Śakti;* this world is only a form of His *Śakti.*[107] The Śaivāgāmas which are basically

Sādhanā-Śāstras and *jñāna*-oriented cover also the *kriyā*-oriented Śāktas amongst whom the worship of *Śakti* was the most dominant aspect of their worship.

This is confirmed by the life and work of the two Śaivācāryas, namely Vasugupta and Abhinavagupta. Vasugupta was a non-conformist who did not accept the teaching of Nāgabodhi and other Siddhas, the accomplished Buddhist Yogīs. He followed the traditional line of the *yoginīs*, the self-realized female yogīs (*Śaktis*) and the *Siddhas*, the perfect male yogis of the non-dualistic school. He refuted the *anātmavāda* (theory of the non-existence of self) of the Bauddhas.[108] Abhinavagupta had two male *gurus*, his own father Chukhulaka and Śambhunātha of Jullundur. His *dūtī* (female guru) was Bhagavatī without whom he was not entitled to any *karma* in Kula system, or the acquisition of knowledge.[109]

In another category of *Jñānis* and *Yogīs* (*Jñānayogasiddha*) we have those *ācāryas* who were adept in *jñāna* and *yoga*, which would suggest their complete mastery in spiritual knowledge and the practice of *yoga*. To such a class belonged, for example, Somadeva, Utpaladeva, Abhinavagupta, etc. The work of Abhinavagupta, viz the *Tantrāloka* is primarily divided into two broad sections of *Jñānādhikāra* and *Kriyādhikāra* which explains the importance of both *jñāna* and *yoga* in the scheme of the Śaivas. *Jñāni* and *Yogī* lead to *mokṣa*.[110] Perhaps, it is on this basis of *jñāna* and *yoga* that *Svacchanda* seems to have described some three categories of *gurus*.[111] We are not in a position to determine whether they are historical personalities or mythical figures.

Next we come to *Sāṁsiddha gurus*[112] also called *Mahāmunis*. These *Munis* being inspired through their vow of silence, could merge their self-existence in the air-*tattva* and fly through it. They merge themselves in their consciousness.[113] A *Sāṁsiddha guru* is superior to all *ācāryas*.[114] He knows the essence of all the *Śāstras* without the assistance of a *guru*. The signs by which he is recognized are: the manifestation of *Śiva-bhakti*, the revelation by the deity of *mantra*, *siddhi* in all activities, control over five *tattvas*, the knowledge of all the *Śāstras*. He possesses *jñāna* and is confirmed in *nirvāṇagāminī dīkṣā*; his *pāśas* are destroyed by *Sāṁviti devis* for which reason he is always a Yogi. He is one with Parmesvara; and so is called the enjoyer of *siddhis*. He is also called *akalpita guru*.[115] He extends grace to the worldly people through *bhakti yoga*, actions (*karmas*), knowledge (*vidyā*), *upadeśa* of *jñāna*

and *dharma*, the recitation of mantras and *dīkṣā*.[116] The *Sāṁsiddhika gurus* are blessed with the intense divine grace (*śakti-pāta*) of Parameśvara and they are initiated by the goddesses in an unknown form, as a result of which they gain in *suddha-vidya*.[117] It appears that through the strength of their penance they had acquired superhuman powers and were not dependent either upon the *gurus* or *Śāstras* but were, like other *munis*, inspired by Soma drinks and initiated by mother-goddesses. Many of their *siddhis* are definitely shamanic in structure. Just as the flashing fire becomes pure and lustrous and does not enter the burning piece of wood again, similarly the *Yogī* arises from the six paths (*adhvās*) of the world. He is free from any pollution; he stays in the body till his *prārabdha* (begun) *karma* ends; he is not bound by *karmas*.[118] He again becomes Śiva. He is independent in his *jñāna* and *kriyā* (action); of this *Paramayogī* there is both inward and outward awareness of the Divine.[119] He is always full of the Supreme I-consciousness. This is the kind of subtle *japa* that the *Yogī* always performs.[120] This whole world is this Śiva Yogī's *Śakticakra* (cycle of Śaktis).[121] He gets the śakti of stationing the world and getting it merged in his own experience.[122] He has the experience of sound and hearing.[123] Such a *Yogī* does not experience physical delight only but also aesthetic rapture that one feels in listening to a melodious song.[124] This is the divine touch through *Śakti* (*Śāktasparśaveśa*).[125] The *Sāṁsiddhaka* is absorbed in the divine energy in the same way as at the time of sexual intercourse with a woman, an absorption into her is brought about by excitement.[126] He is always possessed of *Śivabhāva* internally, no matter whether he is conscious of it or not. Śiva himself is the first and main *guru* in the field of self-realization and accordingly the *Sāṁsiddhaka* enjoys the intense grace of Param Śiva. He does not require to be initiated according to the prescription of the Āgamas for advancement in the path of intuitive knowledge. Such souls are accomplished from their very birth and are presumed to have received initiation from divine mothers (*devībhir dīkṣitāh*).[127] Blessed with intense *Śaktipāta* (divine grace), a *Sāṁsiddhaka* need not take to the study of the *Śāstras* or undergo formal initiation at the hands of a common *guru*. Nor are the oblations of white sesamum and clarified butter offered to the sacrificial fire to fulfil the external formalities of initiation.[128] According to the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* the *Sāṁsiddhaka* is the excellent aspirant and is full of knowledge. He thinks of the welfare

of his own *ātman* and of others.[129] Abhinavagupta says that such *Sāṁsiddhakas* were Somānanda, Kalyāṇa, Bhavabhūti, etc.[130]

Various *mudrās* have been recommended in yogic practices (*dhāraṇas*).[131] There are certain bodily actions which are performed during sexual intercourse. These enhance physical sensations which are transformed into blissful insight. These are learnt only in practice with a sexual partner, very often a female teacher. She is known as a *Yoginī* who is always free from fear, pure and without hatred or passion.[132] The *Yoginīs*, with the help of *mudrās* and *mantras*, lead the aspirant to a higher life.[133] The *Yogi* obtains immediate *siddhi*. [134] Employed by the *yoginīs*, the *ācārya* acquires mastery in subtle *yoga*, becomes expert in *mantra* and *tantra*. Such a *mantravīryajña ācārya* (the acarya quite proficient in *mantras* and sex), through the nectar of subtle *dhyāna* liberates *sādhakas* from all shortcomings.[135] He overcomes death through *mantra*, is freed from doubt, knows the Supreme Reality, obtains the expansion of Śakti (*sphāra*). Being a *vīrācāra* (devoted to the practice of *vīra*), he frees a *sādhaka* from *yāga, homa, bali* etc.[136] *Laukika siddhi* is attained through the union with *yoginīs*.[137] The *Yogi* who has become the darling/favourite of *yoginīs*, gains freedom from old age and mortality; he is endowed with *animā* and other *siddhis*.[138] A practitioner of Śaivayoga becomes master of the Śaktis like *jñāna* (knowledge), *kriyā* (activity), *ānanda* (bliss). According to the *Kaula* tradition, however, such a practitioner of *yoga* is known as *vīra* or *Siddha* who is united to the Yoginīs (*Mctapaka*).[139] It may be emphasized here that many myths flowered around the immortality and overpowering of old age conquered by such *Vīrayoginīs*. The various *dhāraṇās* in the *Vijñānabhairava* clearly indicate how the practitioners of Śaivayoga achieved *siddhis* and supernatural powers. The Āgamas are full of the same kind of magical feats, the conquest of immortality being one of the favourite themes of the literature that has developed around these *yogis* and their disciples. The *Yoginīs* (*cakradevīs*) assume different forms of mild and frightful deities, according to the desires of the sādhaka. Like the fabulous stone granting all desires, the sādhakas' wishes are fulfilled.[140] According to Eliade these are experiences transcending the sphere of the profane, are states of consciousness cosmic in structure, though they can be realized through other means than ecstasy.[141]

The *dūtī* (female *guru*) was an intermediary for the realization

of the Supreme. The *siddhi* which the 'frightened individuals' get in one year is achieved by the accomplished women in twelve days for which reason beautiful, good-looking and well meaning women were associated with sacrifices and worship. This suggests that the *dūtīs* possessed true *jñāna* of Brahma, *ātmā* and the world. They are the Siddhas who had realized the identity of their self with the Supreme. In the traditional usages followed amongst kinsmen, all the subjects of the five senses of knowledge were communicated through the mouth of the *dūtī*.[142] It appears that these *Bhaṭṭārikās* were noble ladies of learning who worshipped tutelary deities of the same name and perpetuated the *kula* procedure. A Bhaṭṭārikā seems to have been the partner of the *guru sādhaka* without whose active participation in the *kula* procedure, the *sādhaka* had no right to any practice. Alongwith her the *sādhaka* performed worship and collected the necessary things for the sacrifice,[143] the details of which are given in the *Netra-Tantra*.[144]

The *Svacchanda Tantra*[145] explains the symbolism of *dūtī* which points to an earlier practice of animal sacrifice which both the *vīra* and the *dūtī* participated. The *dūtī* accompanies the *vīra* to the end of his secret conduct (*rahasyacāra*). She is called 'wife'. Incense is called the roaring of clouds and perfume (*gandha*) leads to contentment. *Gandha* means readiness to catch hold of the sacrificial animal for *bali*. Those who hold the animal are called *rājana*; others are those *rājanas* (*bhūmipālas*) who hold the articles of worship. This points to those petty chieftains who participated in such worship. The various limbs of *paśu* (sacrificial animal), recognized as *buddhi* (intelligence), is thought to lead to awakening: fat (*vasā*) and the food cooked (*caruka*) for offering is said to lead to the desired fruit. *Vasā* of the sacrificial animal is called *mandama*. In their daily observance of rites and customs (*bāhyācāra*) whatever was censured by people and prohibited by *Śāstras* and worthy of abhorrence and forbidden was the suitable food of the *vīras*.[146] Realising that everything is Śiva, there could be no sinning against the *Śivaśāstras*. All this evidence indicates an earlier tribal practice of sharing the sacrificial animal in common.

We next meet with another type of *Yogī*, possibly at a higher stage, who is described as the master of his senses and who enjoys the ratpure of I-consciousness. He is *Vīreśa*.[147] He enjoys unrivalled self-sovereignty, is full of the highest bliss, and becomes the master

of his senses that dissolve all worldly differences. In the great scriptures (*mahāmnāyas*) he is said to have entered the being of Manthana Bhairva, churning the objective experience, withdrawing it in himself and then bringing it forth. He has the independent will (*svātantrya-śakti*) of knowing and doing everything. Such a *Yogī* functions freely by means of *Svacchanda Yoga* or the union with *Svatantrya* and acquires equality with Svacchanda (the absolute free will of the Bhairava).[148] He is called *Yogīndrā*[149] (the lord of the *Yogīs*). The will power of such a *Yogī* is Umā (the highest *svātantryaśakti* of the Lord). This *śakti* is *Kumārī* as she manifests the universe and finally withdraws it within herself.[150] These and other references show that *Parā* or Svātantrya Śakti plays a key role in the manifestation of and withdrawing in of the world. That highest divine *Śakti* abides in all the goddesses in different names and forms, remains concealed by the *Yogamāyā*, is a virgin and fulfils the desire of all people.[151] Vīresā sees the external world and its phenomena as inseparable from him. His "stasis" (*samādhi*) bliss does good to others; he becomes master of the world like Sadāśiva.[152]

All the Āgamas maintain that a *guru* should be of noble descent, versed in tāntric lore, of graceful limbs and healthy.[153] One who takes the *book* for a *guru* is the enemy of Siva. One should not obtain *dīkṣā* from father, mother's father, especially from mother's brother,[154] which would suggest that initiation from kin groups was ruled out. This, however, appears to be a very late development, for Kalhaṇa mentions how the *sādhakas* were initiated by women who had assumed the position of Tāntric *gurus*.[155] Ill-temper, ficklemindedness and bodily defects are counted amongst the disqualifications[156] of a *guru*, which obviously suggests that he was to be a person of a commanding nature as would be able to get the allegiance of his clientele.

In the tāntric rituals complete surrender to the *guru* develops as the basic idea of 'spiritual enlightenment;' technically called the *pauruṣa-jñāna*,[157] or the manifestation of the 'Self.' The qualifications of high birth, spiritual exercises and the utterance of Vedic *mantras* are of no consideration at all in the *sādhanā* of the aspirant (*sādhaka*) who has decided to surrender himself to the *Saktipata* of Param Śiva. As the *Śaktipāta* is not the result of the individual's exertions but is the vibration of Siva's free will and is partially dependent on the extermination of *malas*, the role of the guru cannot be

underrated. The departure from the traditional norms is strange but in keeping with the absolute trust in a human superior which dominates social relationship in a feudal society. The condescension (*Śaktipāta*) has an underlying purpose as it seeks to justify undemanding allegiance of producing masses to a social superior, ultimately leading to a state of perpetual subjection of the former to the latter. The Śaktipāta is not conditioned by any stage of spiritual development as it depends on the free will of the Absolute.

The divine condescension takes the form of grace and follows, though not always, the ripening of *malas*.[158] The grace element dominates the matrix of the tāntras.[159] Param Śiva needs no inducement to be gracious. This would suggest that He and following Him His human agents, the *gurus* can prefer to be selective in their choice of a *sādhaka's* gracious treatment. There is no reason or motive in His 'theory of grace.' The premise that the ripening of *malas* (*malaparipāka*) leads to the attainment of grace is not a necessary pre-condition. That all self exertions or human effort for attaining His grace are useless shows through the social motivation of the 'grace' attitude. The Lord enjoys absolute freedom in His *Śaktipāta* for which reason it is called His grace. No merit or immunity from *malas* in the *sādhaka* can bribe or persuade him to be gracious.[160]

The selective character of *Śaktipāta* (grace) is stated at length to suggest the inability of the sādhakas as grace-seekers to receive the grace and hence the need to introduce intermediaryship in the relationship between man and god. The self, according to the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra*, comes into manifestation in the fourfold capacity as Śiva, Mantramaheśa, Mantreśa and Mantra. It is Śiva's grace (*anugraha*) through which the one hundred and eighteen Rudras, according to their respective merits, are appointed as Mantreśvaras.[161] It is at the option of Śiva again that hosts of *jīvas* are favoured through *mantras*.[162] The Āgamas, like Vedas, speak of the plurality of the Rudras. In the first stage the Lord manifests Himself as Śiva Pramātā. From the elemental point of view this is the stage of Śiva-Śakti or the stage of *Cidānanda*. The second stage is Mantramaheśvara Pramātā or the Sadāśiva state; the third that of the Mantreśvara Pramātā or the Īśvara state and the fourth that of Mantra-Pramātā or Vidya-Pramātā or Videśvara Pramātā also called Sadvidyā; the last one that of Mantra-Pramātā or Videśvara Pramātā alias Sadvidyā. In terms of spirituality these terms are explained thus: Śiva is that I-consciousness in which there is not

at all any manifestation of this-ness. It is *ahaṁ* alone; Mantramaheśvara is that I-consciousness in which a faint reflection of this-ness starts to appear, it is *ahaṁ-idaṁ* (I-consciousness and this-ness); Mantreśvara also is like that with this much of difference that this-ness shines there predominantly and I-ness is reduced to a secondary position—it shines as *idaṁ-ahaṁ* (this-ness and I-consciousness); Mantra is the name of such consciousness, which, though being pure and possessing divine powers, sees this-ness as something apart from it. It appears as *ahaṁ-ahaṁ, idaṁ-idaṁ.* (I-ness, I-ness, this-ness, this-ness). As in the feudal complex the vassals work in accordance with the will of their overlord, here too the Lord descends to lower stages of existence and manifests Himself in the form of the presiding deity at those stages. As the overlord of the beings in the four steps of revelation, He appears as Śiva, Sadāśiva, Īśvara and Videśvara. Their mere will gets materialized in the lower categories of existence and the lower gods carry on the divine activities of objective creation, preservation, etc. The supreme controller of the Universe is all-doing, all-sustaining and infinite and out of His desire He evolves out of His own self the octad of Vijñānakevalas assigned with the functions of sustenance, destruction, preservation and benefaction.[163] Like the pyramidal structure in the feudal complex, we have the overlord at the top followed by his vassals and their tenants-in-chief. According to the Tantras Īśvara descends to the stage of Anantanātha who is thus an *avatāra* of the Lord. He shakes up the subtlest element that evolves itself in the form of time, space, law of nature etc. This creation of Anantanātha is responsible for the evolution of limited individual souls (*puruṣa*) and the cosmic energy (*mūla-prakṛti*). This is the *Śuddhadhvā* stage of manifestation. In the *Aśuddhadhvā* stage the lord manifests Himself as Vijñānakala-Pramātā wherein Śiva in the form of *puruṣa* is obscured by *āṇava-mala*, the *Sakala Pramātā Jīva* by all the three malas, and the *Pralayākala Pramātā* state in which all the three *malas* lie dormant.[164] Explained mystically these terms have been interpreted thus. Vijñānakala is such an I-consciousness which takes the pure consciousness as its "I", but is not at all aware of its limitless, divine powers to know and to do. A Pralayākala takes lifeless substances like void or pure life force or pure intellect as his self and is not at all aware of the purity and infiniteness of his I-consciousness, nor is he aware of his divine and limitless potency. Sakala is a being who takes either his subtle body or both his subtle

and gross body as his self. He moves in the cycles of transmigration. All beings right from a smallest insect upto the gods in the heaven are counted in this category.

These are the seven types of beings. Vijñānakala, Pralayākala and Sakala belong to the impure *adhvan* and the first four from Śiva to Mantra to pure *adhvan*. The classification into pure (*suddha*) and impure (*aśuddha*) *adhvan* is the leitmotiv of the Āgamas. The three *malas* frequently mentioned are: *āṇava mala, māyīya mala, karma mala*. *Āṇava* is the impurity of finitude. A being forgets his being omnipotent and omniscient on account of such impurity and that is its one type. The other type of *āṇava* is that on account of which a being takes an inanimate substance like gross body or intellect or *prāṇa* or *śūnya* as his self. *Māyīya mala* is the view point of diversity. A person sees everything and every one else as different from him. *Kārma mala* is the feeling of one's being the doer of actions being committed by his body, senses and organs. Such feeling makes him responsible for such actions and he has to reap their results in cycles of birth in transmigratory existence.[165] The *Śivasūtra* (III. 36) clearly states: 'On the disappearance of difference, the *Yogi* acquires the capacity to create a different kingdom of nature and variety of life.' *Trikasāra* elucidates the point and says that with the emergence of compact consciousness, a Yogī acquires the capacity to create another world according to his desire after he had risen from the position of Mantra to Mantreśvara and Mantramaheśvara.[166] Two things are very clear: One, that *malas* in one form or another cause bondage and limitation and two, that the pre-eminence of Mantramaheśvara over Mantreśvara and that of the latter over Mantra is clearly acknowledged.[167] This would mean that a graded hierarchical series of *pramātās* (subjects) exists and that the position of the Mantramaheśvara is at the top of his kindred. Evidently this speaks of a graded hierarchy both at the cosmic and earthly level. The position of the immediate superior to his inferior is measured by the capacity he has and the will-power he commands to create his own world, possibly free from the *malas* referred to, which actually means a 'new being' and a 'new order.' The *malas* actually refer to various steps leading to the supreme position of Śiva. Ignorance is that which confirms the state of human servitude and the individual is unaware of its proper function; emancipated thought is the affirmation of humanity, enabling man to develop his native abilities. The Āgamas maintain that consciousness is

the mental aspect of human life, a social process whereby men communicate with one another and assimilate nature in a harmonized form, which ultimately helps towards liberation.

In the process of the Lord's descent to earth, He incarnates Himself to carry out some divine activity, without getting involved in the process of involution. He is termed as an *avatāra* who shows us the way of right action and self-realization in actual practice. The great sages Nārada, Agastya, Samvarta, Vasiṣṭha, etc seek the favour of Kumāra, who condescends to help them in the mystic processes of *yoga* to achieve right realisation of the Supreme Principle.[168] The feudal complex is reflected in a hierarchy of gods with their different grades, constituting an essential ingredient of feudalism in the divine sector. Altogether the seven stages of the Lord's manifestation reveal a relationship of overlordship and vassalage between Śiva and Vidyeśvaras respectively. In all these stages, the intermediary is a god incarnate, a saviour, who descends down to the earth to extend the saving grace to the chosen few. An *avatāra,* in this way, becomes an ideal for aspirants whose inherent weakness to achieve 'grace' through their own efforts, is offset by these *avatāras* in showing the path of realization to worldly souls. This would suggest that Param Śiva is fully conscious of man's weakness and for that reason He incarnates Himself to save people in affliction arising from their *malas.* The Āgamas make it clear that three divine beings named Tryambaka, Śrīnātha and Āmardaka descended as *avatāras* for the purpose of propagating the Śaiva path of salvation.[169] The incarnation theory which is the seed-bed of *guruism* stresses the importance of intermediary soul-helpers whose intercession helps the *sādhaka* to attain the divine grace. The Āgamas state that Tryambaka or Tryambakāditya was a disciple of Durvāsā[170] *muni* whose preceptor was Śrīkaṇṭhanātha, the disciple of Anantanātha, who got revelation through the grace of the divine Mother. Bhaṭṭa Śrī Kallaṭa and other holy men (*siddhas*) descended to the earth for conferring grace (*anugraha*) on the people.[171] The idea of a saviour in the form of an *avatāra* was strongly rooted in the ideology of the *elite* of the society.[172] The *Svacchanda Tantra* gives a comprehensive account of the *dīkṣā* of a *sādhaka* at the hands of his *guru* leading him ultimately in the presence of the deity.[173] This would suggest that the aspirant implores *gurus* in familiar access to god to intercede for him and expedite the *Śaktipāta* of the Lord towards the fulfilment of his self-recognition (*Pratyabhijñā*). The

guru knows all the principles from earth upto matter and those of *māyā* from different standpoints in their true perspective. He occupies the exalted rank of Śiva and is, as such, the revealer of the potency of *mantras*.[174] Inspired by Śiva and initiated by the *guru* they attain the desired fruit and obtain final beatitude. The guru is to be satisfied by the disciple with his physical labour, riches and knowledge and qualities, which suggest his unqualified allegiance and loyalty to him.[175] A mantra revealed to the *śiṣya* by a pleased guru alone leads to *siddhi*, not otherwise.[176] This is a subtle way to divinize the personal soul-helper who ultimately rose to the unassailable position of a *guru* who demanded unquestioning loyalty of his followers. The *Svacchanda Tantra* emphasizes the necessity of elaborate rituals for securing purification of the *sadhaka* at the time of his being initiated by the intermediary soul-redeemer.[177] The *dīkṣā*-ritual comprised the burning of the *sādhakas'* impurities and the recitation of initiatory *mantras*. The common rituals and the practice of *Śiva-dharma* did not observe any distinction based on caste. The *mantravit* brāhmaṇa had nothing to lose, rather he had everything to gain from his clientele which assured him all material gains without conceding any thing substantial to the initiates, all of whom were grouped under the category of *Jaṭādhāris* (disciples with matted hair). It was blasphemous to talk of their previous caste-labels or present position when all of them had been admitted into *one bhairavajāti*.[178] The discerning mind must regard all the initiates as one with Śiva.[179] Such an attitude of mind on behalf of the brāhmaṇas is quite understandable in peripheral areas where their hold was extremely precarious and the opposition of the erstwhile land-owning, and land-grabbing class called the Ḍāmaras was hard to overcome. Their vigorous resistance to the newly introduced landed beneficiaries in their areas called for the introduction of liberal ideas as could assimilate them in brāhmaṇical ethics and social values. In the *Śāktamārga* (or the *ācāra* based on *Śruti* and *Smṛti*) there was no place for the recitation of *mantras* as stress was laid on *tīrthas*, purification-exercises, the establishment of *maṭhas*, the digging of wells and ponds.[180] Probably the introduction of tāntric rituals and practices mostly carried in households might have indirectly prevented the admission of tribals, lower *varṇas* into the temple precincts. On the contrary, the *dīkṣā* ritual, involving the total surrender of the *sādhakas'* consciousness to his *guru* seems to

have been intended to prepare a 'moral' and 'psychological' basis for the subjection of primary producers and a demand on their services. The relevance of creating a *bhairavajāti* must have been evident to those brāhmaṇas who had quite early realized the necessity of a social control over the mass of the primary producers whose allegiance could be won only through some form of their status-redemption and fertility rites, adjusted and adapted, according to the fresh orientation of those brāhmaṇas who were the masters of many magico-religious rites.

NOTES

1. *Parātriṃśikā*, pp. 10 ff.
2. *NT*, XVI 77-78.
3. *G.P.*, 1-2.
4. *G.P.*, 3-4.
5. *G.P.*, 5-7.
6. *G.P.*, 8.
7. *Ibid.*, 14.
8. *Ibid.*, 16.
9. *Ibid.*, 17.
10. *Ibid.*, 18.
11. *Ibid.*, 19.
12. *Ibid.*, 21.
13. *Ibid.*, 36.
14. *Ibid.*, 30.
15. *Ibid.*, 22.
16. *Ibid.*, 19.
17. The word *daiśika* occurs nearly ten times in *Gurunātha-Parāmarśa* (see vv. 1, 7, 19, 26, 28, 33); Appendix 38, 16, 17, 19.
18. *Ibid.*, 27.
19. *Ibid.*, 6, 23.
20. See *Śivasūtras*, *Śivadrsti*, *Śivastotrāvalī*.
21. *Svacchanda*, XV, 3 ff.
22. *ŚD*, VII, 107-110.
23. *ŚD*, VII, 107-110.
24. *Ibid.*
25. *Ibid.*
26. *Ibid.*, 111 ff.
27. *ŚD*, 11-12.

28. *Ibid.,* 114.
29. *Ibid.,* VII, 114.
30. *Ibid.,* 115-117.
31. *Ibid.,* 118.
32. *RT*, 1, 122.
33. *Ibid.,* 1, 332-333.
34. *Ibid.,* 335; Eliade, *Le Chamanisme* pp. 69 ff, 205 etc.
35. *Ibid.,* 348; III 99.
36. *RT*, V, 55, 58.
37. *ŚD*, VII, 119-120.
38. *ŚS*, I, 6 ff.
39. *Ibid.,* II, 1 ff.
40. *Parātriśikā-vivṛtti*, p. 181.
41. See *Tantrāloka* and *Parātriśika* for occasional references to sex; *TA*, I, 1 ff.
42. *RT*, V, 66, *Bülher's Report*, pp 78 ff IXV.
43. *Ibid.,* 67.
44. *Mā Vi Tan,* I, 13-14 The connection of the *Aghorīs* with tantrism is patent. They eat from human skulls, haunt cemeteries and practise cannibalism.
45. *Mā Vi Tan*, VIII, 1 ff.
46. *Ibid.,* 44.
47. *Mā Vi Tan*, VIII, 132-133.
48. *Ibid.,* IX, 30 ff.
49. *Ibid.,* IV, 33.
50. *Ibid.,* IV, 35-36.
51. *Mā Vi Tan*, IV, 37.
52. *Ibid.,* IV, 38-40.
53. *G.P.*, 19.
54. *RT*, VI, 12.
55. *Mā Vi Tan,* II, *Svacchanda,* I, 12 ff; IV, 408 ff.
56. *Ibid.,* V, *passim*; *NT*, XVI, 57, 58, 66.
57. *NT*, XVI, 55-56; *Svacchanda*, IV, 97.
58. *NT*, XVI, 66-68.
59. *Siddhamata* in *NT*; XVI, 68, *loc. cit.*
60. *NT*, *XVI* 77-78.
61. *Devī-rahasya*, Pat 60, 18-26.
62. *Svacchanda.*, I, 12 ff.
63. *Ibid.,* 13 ff.
64. *NT*, XIX, 131-137; VIII, 59-63.

65. *Svacchanda*, 18 ff, 1048 ff.
66. *Ibid.*, X, 1140-1142.
67. *Ibid.*, IV, 391-392 *Mṛtyujit*, VIII, 30.
68. *Svacchanda*, IV, 402, *Mā Vi Tan*, IV, 4.
69. *Ibid.*, 406.
70. *Ibid.*, 406 ff.
71. *Ibid.*, 408-409.
72. *Ibid.*, 411.
73. *Ibid.*, I, 30-36.
74. *Mā Vi Tan*, XI, 2ff; *Svacchanda*, III, 34 ff.
75. *Ibid.*, 26 ff.
76. *Ibid.*, 46.
77. *Kularatnamālā*, quoted in *ŚS*, III, 42 & Comm.
78. X, 170-171.
79. *Svacchanda*, X, 169-170.
80. *NT*, XIX, 47 ff.
81. *Ibid.*, XVIII, 78 ff.
82. *Ibid.*, 83-87.
83. *Ibid.*, XVI, 50-53.
84. *NT*, XIX, 86.
85. *Svacchanda*, 17, 44-45.
86. *Mā Vi Tan*, III, 57-58.
87. *Ibid.*, IX, 34-39.
88. *Mā Vi Tan*, IX, 39-52.
89. *Gururupāya*, IX; *SS*, II, 6.
90. *Devī-rahasya*, XXI, 10.
91. *Mā Vi Tan*, II, 13-16.
92. *Śrīkaṇṭha*, IV, 1, 12.
93. *Svacchanda*, X, 1062.
94. *Ibid.*, X, 1062.
95. *Ibid.*, IV, 211.
96. *Ibid.*, IV, 545.
97. *TA*, I, p. 49.
98. *G.P. passim*.
99. *TA*, II, V. 37, p. 40. *Mbh:* 13. 147. 42.
100. *Ibid.*
101. *Ibid.*
102. *TA*, XIV-XV, *passim*; I, pp. 250 ff (vv. 235 ff).
103. In the *Ṛgveda* the prowess of the flying Maruts is compared to that of the Munis. (Rg., VI, 56.8) At another place the

inebriated Indra, being inspired by Soma drink, is described as the companion of Munis (*RV*, 7.17.14).

104. *Supra*.
105. *ŚS*, III, 28-30 and Comm.
106. *Ibid*., 30.
107. *Ibid*.
108. *ŚS*, Kṣemarāja's introductory verses and text.
109. *TA*, VV. 12-13 pp. 28-35.
110. *Mā Vi Tan*, IV, 27.
111. *Ibid*., IV, *passim*.
112. X, 1083.
113. *TA*, IV 40-41.
114. *Ibid*., 43-44.
115. *TA*, 45 ff.
116. *Ibid*., IV, 55, 57, pp. 61-62.
117. *Tantrasāra*, p. 23.
118. *Svacchanda*, 336 ff.
119. *ŚS* , III, 45,
120. *Ibid*., III, 27; *VBh*, 145.
121. *Ibid*., III, 30.
122. *Ibid*., III, 37.
123. *VBh*, 73.
124. *Ibid*., 69 ff.
125. *Ibid*., 69-70.
126. *Ibid*.
127. *Parātriṃśikā*, 25.
128. *Ibid*., *TA*, XIII, 151-152; *TA*, XIII, 140-142.
129. *TA*, XV, 15-17.
130. *TA*, XIII, 149.
131. *VBh*, *passim*.
132. *NT*, XX; 66.
133. *Ibid*., X, 36-37.
134. *Ibid*.
135. *Ibid*., XX, 45 ff.
136. *Ibid*.
137. *TA*, IV, vv. 57-58, pp. 64-65.
138. *VBh*, 141-144.
139. *VBh*, 139-144.
140. *TA*, I, V. 155, p. 157.
141. *Yoga*, p. 103.

142. *TA*, I, pp. 31-34.
143. *Ibid*.
144. *X*, 34 ff.
145. *XV*, 9 ff.
146. *TA*, IV, pp. 268-270.
147. *ŚS*, I.11.
148. *Svacchanda*, VII, 260. 144.
149. *Ibid*., 262.
150. *ŚS*, I, 13.
151. *Svacchanda*, X, 727, *Yogamāyā* has the power of veiling the essential nature.
152. *ŚS*, I, 16-18.
153. *Svacchanda*, I, 13 ff; *Devī-rahasya*, I, 16 ff.
154. *Devī-rahasya*, I, 26 ff.
155. *RT*, VI, 12.
156. *Svacchanda*, I, 22-23.
157. *TA*, I, 36.
158. See *Svacchanda*, *VBh*, etc.
159. *Ibid*.
160. I, *passim*; II, 6-7, 15.
161. *Ibid*., 37-38.
162. *Ibid*., 41; Cf. *Tantrasāra*.
163. *Mā Vi Tan*, I, 17-20.
164. *Mā Vi Tan*, 1, 22 ff.
165. *VBh*, III, 36 and Commentary.
166. *ŚS*, III, 36 *loc cit*.
167. *Svacchanda*, Vi, 54-55.
168. *Mā Vi Tan*, I, 2 ff.
169. *Mā Vi Ta*, I, 22, 23, 35, *Śivadṛṣṭi* , VII, 109 ff; *TA*, I, p. 26.
170. *IP*, VV, IV, 44.
171. *RT*, *V* 66.
172. *Ibid*., 72-73.
173. *Supra*, Ch. II.
174. See above, the account of Mantras, Mantreśas etc.
175. *Mā Vi Tan*, III, 57.
176. *Ibi*., III, 58.
177. *Svacchanda*, IV, *passim*.
178. *Ibid*., 540-544.
179. *Ibid*., 546.
180. *Ibid*., IV, 85, 145.

6
Maṭhikās

The Śaivācāryas and their disciples engaged in tāntric sādhanā and the study of the Trika philosophy generally lived in their own *āśramas*. They followed the *Tryambaka Sampradāya* (the system of Tryambaka), a system of philosophy which is a type of idealistic monism (*advaita*) and as such differs in fundamental principles from other forms of 'Śaiva philosophy.'[1] The *guru* and his initiates practised the Śaivayoga under the care and grace of *Śakti* (Śaktipāta).[2] This tradition (*maṭhikā*) followed the *Śivāśāsana* or Śaivāgamas, much older in point of time[3] than the *Śivasūtras* or Vasugupta who lived towards the second or last quarter of the eighth century. Of the names mentioned in the *Śāradā-Tilaka* commentary we have the names of Śrīkaṇṭha, Vasumanta (Vasugupta), Somānanda, Utpala Lakṣmaṇa, Abhinava and Kṣemarāja[4] who formed, as we know, a line of spiritual succession (*guru paramparā*). Somānanda was undoubtedly a pupil of Vasugupta who, according to the tradition current in Kashmir, and stated by Abhinavagupta, had for his *guru* Śiva Himself as Śrīkaṇṭha.[5] We know that Somānanda claimed to be descended from the sage Durvāsa who had been commanded by Śrīkantha to revive the Śaivāgamas through the line of that sage's 'mind-born' son Tryambaka.[6] This tradition recorded in *Śivadṛṣṭi* makes it clear that Tryambaka was appointed to spread the knowledge of the Trika aspect of the Śaivāgamas,[7] which is said to have been carried on by fifteen generations of legendary figures in the race of Tryambaka and later by Saṁgāmaditya, the son of Tryambaka XV, and his descendants Varṣāditya, Aruṇāditya, Ānanda and Soma-

nanda.[8] As the whole tradition was carried on from father to son or disciple's disciple, it came to be known as *maṭhikā* or precisely *Tryambaka-maṭhikā*.[9] Thus the guru's *āśrama* which must have been, to start with, his own home seems to have been called a *maṭhikā* for maintaining and continuing a traditional school of philosophy, which, in the present case is styled as the *Tryambaka-maṭhika*. It appears that this particular school of tradition upheld the authority of monism (*advaya*) and so the name of the *maṭhikā*. The followers of this school were dedicated to Tryambaka.[10]

In the beginning the *Śaivaśāstras* seem to have been stated and orally transmitted by the *guru* to his disciple both of whom lived in caves, far away from human settlements. But either due to the fear of the *mlecchas* or the rivalry of the other sects, these cave-*āśramites* seem to have been compelled by circumstances to come closer to centres of human activity where they could earn recognition for their secret Āgama lore which appears to have been losing ground for want of proper patronage at the hands of princes and the nobility of the age in which they lived. The fact that these Śāstras were getting uprooted from Kalāpigrāma,[11] indicates that the Śaivācāryas had ceased to enjoy the munificence of some local princes whose authority appears to have been challenged as a result of the inroads of the Greeks and Indo Scythians around the middle of the third century of the Christian era. So the Tryambaka *maṭhikā*, uprooted from its place of origin, moved towards the south-west and was ultimately established in Kashmir by Saṁgamāditya. Till the days of Somānanda (c. ninth century) the Siddhas maintained the tradition of the Tryambaka in their own local dialect[12] and it appears that the original version of his *Śivadṛṣṭi* might have been a form of *Paiśācī* spoken in Tibet and other areas bordering on Kashmir. This local dialect of Teramba seems to have been peculiar to the followers of Tryambaka.[13] The Tryambaka *maṭhikā* was sub-divided into two *maṭhikās*: 1) the *Tryambaka*; and 2) *Ardhatryambaka*.[14] In the *Samkara-Krama* there were three and a half *maṭhikās*, the *ardhamaṭhikā* being run by Tryambaka's daughter.[15] From this it would follow that the two *maṭhikās* ran parallel to each other. It seems that the tradition of the one was considered incomplete without the other. Tryambaka's daughter must have naturally upheld the *Śāktakrama*, initiation into which seems to have been thought necessary as a *kriyā* aspect to the *sādhanā* ("realization") aspect of Śaivāgamas. The two were thus

complementary. It seems that the initiates had first to undertake and perform the worship of Śakti before they could be admitted into the Tryambaka *maṭhikā* where they were to devote themselves to the tantric *sādhanā* of Śaiva-Yoga. The matrilineal aspect of the Śiva-Śakti concept seems to have been gradually merged into the Tryambaka *Maṭhikā,* which absorbed the fundamental characteristics of the Ardha-Tryambaka *maṭhikā.* This is evident from the fact that much emphasis is laid on the role of diverse Śaktis as the different forms of one single Śakti, called the *Svātantrya Śakti* (Absolute Free Will) of Param-Śiva.[16] Thus the traditions of a matrilineal society seem to have been strongly entrenched in the *advaita of* Tryambaka. The dialectics of Śiva-Śakti suggests that in the process of synthesis Śakti came to occupy a pre-eminent position in the Kashmir Śaivāgamas whereas in the South Śakti had either no place or a secondary place in their *dvaita* (duality) concept. The *ardhamaṭhikā* or Tryambaka's daughter seems to have had varying fortunes and maintained its independent identity till it was absorbed by the Tryambaka *maṭhikā,* with its essential principles of *Śakti* being incorporated in the latter. For a considerable period the *ardha*-Tryambaka *maṭhikā* appears to have functioned as a very important school of *advaita.* We learn from Abhinavagupta (*TA,* I, 37, 61) that his preceptor, Sambhunatha, was the main *guru* of the *ardha*-Tryambaka *mathika.*[17] This would suggest that the emphasis on Śakti aspect (*kriyā*) was regarded as no less important than the *sādhanā* ("realization") aspect of the philosophy of Trika. Thus it seems that till the period of Śambhunātha (c. A.D. 875-960) the *ardha-maṭhikā* was very popular and may be that Abhinavagupta, his disciple, continued the tradition of his master. In fact, Abhinavagupta had himself studied in all the four *maṭhikaś* along with their *gurus* and learnt the secret of sādhanā. We are introduced to *yoginīs* and *dutis* in his *maṭhikā* which suggests that the *ardha*-Tryambaka *maṭhikā* and Tryambaka *maṭhikā* functioned side by side in the time of Abhinavagupta and survived upto the end of the eleventh century.

The reference to *Tryambaka hana*[18] in *Yajurveda* and *Vājasaneyī* suggests that this non-Vedic deity Tryambaka was assimilated by the Vedic deity Rudra and worshipped along with his sister Ambika. This suggests the popularity of non-Vedic deities among the tribal people from a very early period. The disciples or progeny of Siddhas is traced back to the three *Yugas.* In order of the *Yugas,*

Śrī Kūrmanātha was the *avatāra* of *Treta*, Khagendranatha of *Krita* and Mīnanātha of *Dvāpara*. It seems that these Siddhas represented various tribal groups whose totem was a tortoise, a Garuda, and a fish respectively. The six Siddhas of Kaliyuga were Amaradeva, Varadeva, Citradeva, Īśanātha, Vandyanātha, Candikānātha and to their names (*Vīras* and *Vīrapatnīs*) have been added Bodhi, Prabhu, Yogī, Ānanda, Pāda, Āvalī respectively. Khagendranātha of the *Krita Yuga* represents the eastern quarter, Kūrmanātha of the *Treta* the southern and Mīnanātha of *Dvāpara* the western. Obviously, Śrīkaṇṭha of the *Kali* age, who descended on the Kailāśa mountain, represents the northern quarter. This would suggest that the *Tryambaka-maṭhikā* was a northern school of Advaita and possibly different in fundamentals from the rest of the other schools of different quarters.

In the northern regions, viz Tibet and other hilly regions of Kailāśa it seems that *yoginīs* as mothers were worshipped and held in great honour by the people. As a non-Vedic deity she seems to have been worshipped in the caves of the Himālayas and other tribes living in the low-land area at the foot of the mountains. As a Rudra assimilated Tryambaka, it is likely that the latter's daughter maintained the traditions of the *Kula* (family) in its unadulterated form. The half *maṭhikā* attributed to the daughter of Tryambaka shows that women in their own right were entitled to be *gurus* and might have started a *maṭhikā* on their own to teach their disciples.[19]

The two other *maṭhikās*, including the above one and a half *maṭhikā*, give us a total of three and a half *maṭhikās* in the system of Śiva yoga (*Sāmkare Krame*).[20] Of these other two *maṭhikās*, that of a *dvaya* or *dvaita* (dualist school) was started by Amardaka and *dvayādvaya* (dualist-cum non dualist) by Śrīnātha. It seems that all the three and a half *maṭhikās* originated in Kailāśa and it was from here that the systems of *advaita*, *dvaita* and *dvaitādvaita* spread to other parts, as for instance *Advaita* gained a strong foothold in Kashmir through the succession of teachers in the line of Tryambakaditya, and Kula in Assam (Kāmarūpa) in the line of Ādinātha who seems to have been none else than Śrīnātha mentioned in the Tantrāloka.[21] All the three and a half *maṭhikās* flourished in Kashmir. The entrance and admission of the disciples started from the *dvaita maṭhikā* where an aspirant was thoroughly brought up and trained in the course of the *dvaita* (dualism). Thereafter he

was admitted to the *dvaitādvaita maṭhikā* where the principles of dualism-cum-non-dualism were thoroughly practiced by him. Only after he had qualified himself in both the schools could he find admission into the Advaita *maṭhikā* which exclusively dealt with the doctrine and principles of Śaiva monism. None else but advanced sādhakas could find admission in such *maṭhikās*. It is evident that the courses of study differed from one *maṭhikā* to the other.

The *Tryambaka maṭhikā* specialised in the philosophy of *Trika*, which means Nara, Śakti and Śiva or *para* (the highest), *parāpara* (identity in difference) and *apara* (difference and sense of difference). The *Tryambaka maṭhikā* took up the courses in monism as were then available in *Nāmaka, Vāmaka* and *Mālinī*. Of these only the last named manual has survived, the other two seem to have been either displaced by the *Mālinīvijayottara Tantra* or else appear to have been destroyed in successive waves of invasion across the north-western frontier. All told, the Advaita comprised one and a half *maṭhikā* till the time of Abhinavagupta and his disciples.

There were *Tryambaka maṭhās* in the south and the north. *Ardhamarda* most probably refers to *Sat ardha sampradaya*, also called as *Trika Sampradāya* which included an exposition of all the six schools of philosophy—Nyāya, *Mīmāmsa*, Yoga, etc. In the *Sāmkara Krama* there were four kinds of *maṭhās*—*Gurukula, Guru-maṭhikā, Tryambaka maṭha* and *Ardhamarda*. The last one was regarded as consisting of the essence of the six schools of philosophy and so equal to half of it. The great *Yogīs* seem to have lived in retired cells of their own where they imparted instruction to their disciples. There were also *laukika maṭhās* (probably *maṭhās* for ordinary aspirants). Some times these *maṭhikās* are also described in accordance with the process of evolution—*Kūrma, Varāha*, etc. These were the names of the Siddhas and most probably the totems of their respective tribal groups.[22]

The Tryambaka *maṭhikā* made considerable progress in Kashmir mainly because of its matrilineal traditions and from the ranks of the *gurus* and disciples of this *maṭhikā* arose several siddhas well-versed in Āgama-lore. These *siddhas* were called *maṭhikā-gurus* and they turned into *ṛṣis* of Śaivāgamas.[23] Subsequently Somānanda and other *siddhas* followed their traditions.

Our information about the organisation of these *maṭhikās* is altogether lacking. However, one thing is almost certain. These *maṭhikās* differed from *gurukulas* which were the institutions in the

house of a *guru* where the disciple lived with his preceptor and was instructed in various branches of learning. *Gurukula* had thus a broader sense than *maṭhikā*.[24] They were not established on *guru-paramparā*. *Maṭhikā* literally means 'a hut or a residence,' especially the retired hut or cell of an ascetic or student.[25] It maintained and established the traditions of a *guru-śiṣya* (*guru-paramparā*). From the description of a cross-section of society at the hands of Kṣemendra (c. A.D. 1050-1125) we learn that an ascetic with matted hair (*maṭha-tapasvī*),[26] *daiśika* living in a *maṭha* (*maṭha-bhaṭṭa*),[27] a priest in charge of a *maṭha* (*maṭhi-bhaṭṭa*),[28] etc also formed a part of *maṭhikās*. Though Kṣemendra's sketches relate to the social life of the eleventh century, these could not be of recent origin as they had their roots deeply embedded in the past.

Considering the nature of initiation, it appears that there were four types of *dīkṣitas* (initiated) according to their attainments. These are: *Sāmayika dīkṣā, Putraka dīkṣā, Sādhaka dīkṣā* and *Ācārayaka dīkṣā*.[29] The duration of their courses varied in a *maṭhikā*. The constant and regular practice of *mantra, japa, dhyāna* made an aspirant a *Samayī* (follower of traditional usages) in four days, a *Putraka* in seven days, a *Sādhaka* in a fortnight; whereas it took a complete month, with the adoption of the same course, to become an *Ācārya*.[30] If Abhinavagupta's *maṭhikā* is taken to be a reliable guide, it follows that the *maṭhikā* was not as the name might suggest, a small and simple organisation restricted to the above initiates but a nucleus of multifarious activities ranging from music, dance, drama to a literary assemblage of *sādhakās* and *Ācāryas*, some busy in discussing the niceties of the Āgamic lore,[31] others writing down the interpretations put forward by their master and the *dūtīs* and the *yoginīs* engaged in the promotion of *Virayogini sampradaya*. This gives us an all-inclusive character of a *maṭhikā* which constituted an important link between the master and his disciples and the *vīras* and *yoginīs*. Such a *maṭhikā* accommodated the view-points of its different *śiṣyas* who came from all orders and varṇas of society. The evolution of the *advaita* theory was the main contribution of *gurus* of Tryambaka-*maṭhikā* who preserved the unbroken tradition of the *guru* and the disciple and gave us their Śaivāgamas; they sparingly adduce the view point of the *Vedas, Upaniṣads*, the *Gita*, of the Bauddhas, of the Brāhmaṇas, the logicians, etc to show homogeneity of the fundamentals in both. The Siddha Somānanda has strongly refuted the *vivartavāda* (all but Brahama is an illusion)

of his day. It appears that even *Yogakanyās* (newly born/initiated in yoga) too lived in these *maṭhikās*.[32]

Rājaputras had separate *āśramas* to live in. These were called *gharas*. Close by were the cottages for begging known as *Palli*.[33] The Rajaputras worshipped in their respective style and maintained an unbroken succession of disciples and disciple's disciples. The settlements of those who lived by begging from door to door seem to have been mostly of forest tribes like Sabaras, Adabilla, Khattilla and other groups of Billas. Adavī, Dombī, etc were similar such settlements of tribal womenfolk.[34] This is how the other word *gotra* has been explained in this context.[35] The two words *gotra* and *maṭhikā* go together. The *gotras* have their own *mudrās*, particularly the *Chummā mudrā*, carrying different meanings to these tribal groups according to their own *kulas* (kin-groups).[36]

We are not in a position to determine precisely the financial resources of these *maṭhikās* and *gotras*. Most probably they enjoyed the revenue of a village or a piece of land assigned to them by the rulers of the period in which they flourished. We have a sufficiently large number of instances when such a type of estate called *agrahāra* was assigned to an individual, corporation or religious institution.[37] If the sacred shrines could be maintained with such revenues, it is likely that similar assignments were made in favour of *maṭhikās* which were mostly run by brāhmaṇa Śaivācāryas. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhaṇa gives many instances of the foundation of *Agrahāras* for brāhmaṇas. Atrigupta, the ancestor of Abhinavagupta, was also granted such a *jāgir* by Lalitāditya (c. A.D. 625-675). It is obvious that big *maṭhās* were maintained in this way. The case with the *maṭhikās* could not have been different. The *Svacchanda Tantra*, while explaining how a *guru* was to be propitiated, makes it very clear that the head of a district (*deśādhyaksa*) was to oblige his master with one hundred villages, the head of a *maṇḍala* (*mandaleśa*) with fifty, the head of hundred villages with five villages, the head of the twenty villages with one village, the enjoyer of one village with a field (*kṣetra*) and the enjoyer of a *kṣetra* with one twentieth of his field.

During our age Śaivism was the greatest beneficiary of such religious grants in northern India. It appears that not only the priests of big and small *maṭhās* benefited in this way, but all those *maṭhikās* which carried on the traditions of *Śaiva sampradāya* were perhaps the largest beneficiaries. The *Svacchanda Tantra* clearly

states that almost all the administrative heads from a village to a district showered gifts on the *gurus* of these *maṭhikās* by way of their *dakṣiṇā* as also for earning religious merit. The successful Rāja-putras and *Sāmantas* seem to have earned their blessings. They must have built most of these *maṭhikās* and enlarged their estates by grants of lands or revenues. Many such *maṭhikās* and *gotras*, with servants, dancers, *dutis*, *yoginīs* had become like royal courts. The *maṭhikā* of Abhinavagupta wears the look of a manor where the *Ācārya* enjoyed a privileged position of a *Daiśika*. Similar *maṭhikās* must have existed in other parts of the valley in which the disputations of the followers of different *Śaiva sampradāyas* took place. Though at the higher level we hear of the Tryambaka *maṭhikā* of Abhinavagupta, below it there were the *maṭhikās* of *dvaita* and *dvaitādvaita* also the information about which is not available.

We have no means to determine whether the *Ācāryas* and *sādhakas* in these different *maṭhikās* were actuated with a spirit of acute rivalry with the followers of other sects. But one thing is clear that most of the Saivacaryas were liberal and took in their fold members of all the *varṇas*, without regarding them unclean or of an inferior status. They seem to have been prompted by economic considerations to earn as wide a support from the primary producers as could be possible. Enjoying the revenues of all types of arable land, a field or a village, they could not antagonize the peasantry which mostly constituted of tribal areas and Bhils of different groups in the forests. Our sources are silent about any social conflict between the overlords and their vassals, which only implies that the peasants were elevated in the social and moral scale. The *Āgamas*, by and large, take the doctrines of the Bauddhas and other sects, assimilating some of their fundamental principles and refuting what appears to the *Ācāryas* as most illogical. The theological conflict does not assume any fearful proportions. It appears that the economic conflict arising from the possession and exploitation of land never came to the surface. The followers of *trika* seem to have been for a long time great landlords, while their clientele were small producers and landowners, mostly *Kṣatriyas* or *Rājaputras* of high social standing. They had an additional advantage in their favour over others inasmuch as they drew their followers from all sects and not from any exclusive group/section of society alone. The *maṭhikā* of the Śaivas was the nucleus of social harmony and the centre of the spiritual overlords.

NOTES

1. *TA*, I, 7-9, *loc cit*.
2. *IPVV*, IV-4.
3. *Śāradā Tilaka*, *TA*, I, 7-9.
4. *TA*, 10-11, *loc cit*.
5. *TA*, I comm 7.
6. *Ibid*., comm 7-9.
7. *Śivadṛṣṭi*, VII, 107 ff; *TA*, Vol. I, p. 34; *TA*, I, and comm.
8. *Ibid*., *TA*, 10-11, *loc cit*.
9. *Ibid*., 122.
10. Cf. *MBh* 7, 169; see also *TA*, I. 8 and comm.
11. *TA*, I. 8 Commentary.
12. *SD*, VII, 121.
13. *Ibid*., 122.
14. *TA*, I, 7, Comm., *loc cit*.
15. *TA*, IV, 265-269, pp. 297 ff; XXXVI, 11-13.
16. *Mā Vi Tan*, I, 24-25; *Svacchanda*, 1-15. *Paṭalas* give a comprehensive account of the *Advaita tattva*.
17. *TA*, *XXXVII* 61.
18. *Taittiriya Saṃhitā*, 1. 8. 6; *Vājasaneyī*, 3. 57. 63.
19. *TA*, Vol. IV, 266.
20. *Ibid*.
21. Vol. I, p. 26.
22. *TA*, IV, 266-267.
23. *TA*, IV, 266-267.
24. *TA*, IV, 265-266.
25. S. V. Monier Williams.
26. *Deśopadeśa*, 8.48.
27. *Narmamālā*, 2.36.
28. *Samaya-māṭrkā*, 2.41.
29. *TA*, II-37, p. 30; *Supra*.
30. *Brahmayāmala*, quoted in the *TA*, *IV*, 63 ff.
31. *Śrīkaṇṭhacarita*, XXV, 94-95.
32. *Svacchanda*, X, 118.
33. *TA*, IV, 267 ff.
34. *Ibid*., XXIX, 39.
35. *Ibid*., IV, 265-267.
36. *TA*, IV, 267 Comm.
37. *RT*, I, 307 ff, II, 132, III, 8, 316, 481, IV, 639, V, 403, 442, etc.

7

Social Dimensions

The authors of the tantras emphasize the continuous generativity of creation which suggests a feminine fertility and a masculine principle not only to seed it but to give the vast proliferating growth a stability. The joy of creation is illustrated by means of a few homely examples.[1] Human beings absorbed in their worldly activities and delighted in their outward appearance of subjects (*pramātā*) and objects (*prameya*) fulfil all their desires well. Therefore, men and women expand themselves in the process of creation and dissolution, and, on a higher plane, Bhairava and Bhairavī are established in the process of expansion and contraction. The creative energy of germinating or sprouting is described as Rudra Śakti *Samāveśa* and drawing in of the Universe as *Śiva Samāveśa*. In the case of a *Siddha-Yogī* it is stated that he is concentrated upon the throbbing of *ānanda-nāḍī*—that universal ecstasy which becomes the primordial cause of the external manifestation of Śiva in the multifarious forms of the universe. Śakti is that intrinsic power eternally inherent in Śiva that gives the impulse to His manifestation. Thus in the Āgamas, the universe, in all its various forms of the animate and inanimate, is regarded as different real forms of Śiva.

This would explain why couple-figures were depicted on religious structures and why Mithuna 'pairs' were regarded as auspicious symbols. Accordingly it may be suggested that sex was not tabooed. It appears that matters related to sex were discussed openly; sexual life and its experiences were considered as an integral part of life. Śakti as female principle is neither absolute

nor an independent entity. She is an immanent principle of Śiva. Without Śakti Śiva is inactive.[2] Śakti is known as Devī and Mahāmāyā. Where Śakti does not get the scope of expression due to the density of consciousness, it remains merged in Śiva. According to the Āgamas Śakti exists at all levels of manifestation and unmanifestation. *Śivatattva* and *Śakti-tattva* are inseparable (*Samavāyinī*).[3] There is no dichotomy between the two. Māyā, being the mother of all beings and existence, has been addressed as *Jñānī, Mātṛ* and Ambā. She is polymorphic. She is Vidyā Śakti when she reveals herself in the *paśu* state of *ātmā* whose true nature is lordship but when she veils, she is called Māyā.[4]

A study of the *Brāhmaṇas* shows that one of the most important purposes of the Vedic sacrifice was to produce, to create and to prosper. In sacrifices "pairs" (Mithuna) formed an essential requirement and the *Yajamāna* (sacrificer) could perform it along with his wife or wives.[5] The sacrificer called the wife 'come, come.' He calls the wife for she is one-half of his own self. As long as he does not obtain her, so long he is not regenerated, for so long he is incomplete. In certain sacrifices an actual couple was placed behind a mound for procreation.[6] A pair means productive copulation, so that a productive copulation (of those respective objects) is thereby effected.[7] Other passages from the *Aitereya Brāhmaṇa* also make it clear that one of the principal objects in making these pairs was to obtain off-spring. Clarified butter is poured over *Caru* and this forms a pair, for butter is woman and rice (of which *caru* is made) is male. This pair thus blesses him with the production of progeny and cattle.[8]

The Male and the Female principle are highlighted in the Āgamas. Each principle from earth upto matter is susceptible of being viewed from fifteen different stand-points owing to the seven perceivers regarded either as Śakti or as Śaktiman.[9] The Śakti of Śiva possesses infinite forms but she is chiefly known through her three aspects of *aparā* or *ghoratarī*, *parāpara* or *ghora* and *parā* or *aghora*. Apara attaches the *jīvas* to sense objects, *parāpara* to the mixed fruit of pain and pleasure and *parā* conducts the creatures to the highest end of life, the attainment of Śiva stage.[10] Far from viewing the female as a sense-object, the Āgamas regard her as the inseparable Śakti of the Lord.[11] She is his wish (*Icchā*).[12] This would suggest that she occupies an important place, both in the cosmic and material planes. Śiva is described as *bīja-mantra* and Śakti as

Yoni.[13] Just as Śiva Śakti union leads to the manifestation of the world, similarly the procreation or human fertility proceeds from the union of the male and female. The whole tantric culture encompasses rituals in which both men and women participate. In tantric practices the key to success lies through the worship of Śakti. The mystical diagrams are symbols of creation, production and completeness. Even in Vedic sacrifices we notice that the sacrificer (*Yajamāna*) had to set up various pairs and make them symbolically unite so that their union might produce off-spring, good luck, victory etc., in fact everything a man asks for. The tantras are thus a continuation of that tradition and practice. For the fulfilment of all desires, both *bhukti* and *mukti*, Śakti was essential. The *Mālinīvijaya Tantra* gives a long list of attainments which a *sādhaka* achieves through Śakti.[14] A study of the Āgamas reveals that a woman is one half of man's self. She occupies an equal, if not a higher place alongwith man. In the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* the mind is described as a male and speech as a female. In the tantras she is *parāvāk.* The all-transcending word (*parāvāk*) germinally contains all the Āgamas.[15] Śakti is thus conceived as the very essential feature of *jīvas'* life. No human activity is complete without the association of a woman. One of the *Ṛgvedic* hymns attributed to *Vāk*, the goddess of speech, portrays the idea of divine energy underlying every action of the gods and men.[16] She plays an important role as the divine mother of the whole universe. The conception of God as Mother existed in the Middle East in the form of Ishtar (*Aṣṭārtha*); Japan's Shinto religion regarded a number of deities as Kāmīs and all the Kāmîs (goddesses) were subordinated to Amātya Kāmī or the Supreme goddess. Rudra's relation with Ambikā is well recognised. In the process of assimilating Paśupati, the male god of the Indus Valley civilisation, the female goddess too was assimilated by Ambika, who, in due course of time, came to be looked upon as Rudra's wife. She came to have her own independent entity which subsequently led to Śaktism. This is also reflected in the social attitude of the Śaivas who accord an equal position to woman. If the *jīva* is mini-Śiva, his wife is Śakti. She is not in any way inferior to her husband. Even now among the pandits of Kashmir, a marriage ceremony ends in the worship of the couple as Śiva and Pārvatī and the participants offer their bouquet to them and seek their blessings.

The exalted status of woman dates back to the Neolithic-

Megalithic culture of Burzahom of the third-second millenium B.C. We have here a hunting scene depicted on a stone slab, which appears to have served as a mystical diagram for the earliest settlers in this region. A standing striped stag with its genital exaggerated is pierced from the front by a male hunter, carrying a bow and an arrow discharged at him. The hunter's genitals too are exaggerated. At the back of the game stands a female hunter piercing the animal with a spear. Her swelling breasts indicate her desire for mating with the male partner with his right knee bent on the ground and genitals exposed to view. The hunting dog with its long legs and erect organ expresses a similar desire. The whole setting of the hunting scene suggests an eagerness to prove their virility and the female's longing to mate her male partner once the game is finished and they have partaken of the flesh of the stag whose virility is a stimulant to their copulation. The two suns, the first one indicating a ray of light suggests the beginning of the game with the sunrise and the second one its fulfilment. Both would suggest procreation and regeneration. This tribal art-motif is suggestive in character and indicates clearly the tendency towards phallic worship in its original form with a desire to perpetuate the different species of animal kingdom in all its interdependence alongwith the sun as the source of life and prime nourisher of human fertility. Thus phallic worship and the cult of fertility was very early conceived of by man towards which he may have invented magico-tantric practices which subsequently developed into tantric rituals. The absence of the plant kingdom on the scene may be explained by the fact that the neolithic culture at this stage was primarily dependent on the game and any sort of incipient agriculture had not as yet entered their food-gathering economy, the female retaining her predominant position as an active partner in agricultural operations, and the meat-offerings continue as a favourite dish both of the gods and the human couple. The phallic emblems were replaced by the symbolic representation of Śiva-Śakti and the installation of *liṅgam* in a *Yantra* type of *Yoni*, indicating a continuous growth and regeneration of the universe. The expansion of female and male genitals leads a *Siddha-Yogī* to communion with the Supreme (*Saudha-bhūmi*).[17] The magico-tantric rites of the human couple directed towards the cult of fertility were very significant. These seem to have been exploited by the brāhmaṇas who wanted to ensure a permanent and constant

supply of labour power to ensure social surplus. In the peripheral areas where tantrism flourished, the labour potential of women was essential both to pastoral and agricultural economy. Naturally a woman was looked upon as the most dependable source and thus given an equal status with man, being symbolically regarded as his will-power in the process of regeneration and productivity. She is therefore addressed as *Samavāyinī*[18] (eternally related to Śiva) and *Yāmala* (pair).[19] The assimilation of various mother-goddesses into Bhairava and Bhairavī was accomplished by means of rituals which, while reducing the number of Kuladevīs, led to an increase in sacrifices and *Cakrapūjā*, forcing the clientele to surrender their social-surplus to those brāhmaṇas who acquired a monopoly in the performance of highly tantricised rituals and the mantras connected with them.

The evolution of *Vīrayoginī Sampradāya*[20] may be looked upon as the most advanced stage of the will for procreation and the joy of living. The *Virās* (the advanced tantrists) sought to achieve quick *samādhi* (enstasis/conjunction) through coitus with their female partners called *Yoginīs*. The absorption in and complete concentration of the mind on the human partner in the sexual act shows how tantrism regarded copulation as the best means to get joy (*ānanda*) and *samarasa* (identity of enjoyment). This indicates how *maithuna* was practised as a concrete ritual from very early times and was not considered a profane act but a rite. The tantrists set great store by tantric rituals related to fertility and continuity. As a *sādhaka* he is allowed and definitely instructed to include such things as wine, meat, etc as articles of offerings to God. The Śaivācāryas realized the importance of semen virile[21] for a good and stable social order and like the Greeks believed that a good and healthy progeny is possible only when *vīrya* (semen) is strong. The promiscuous sexual intercourse between *Vīras* and *Yoginīs* shows how the Ācāryas must have asserted that promiscuity in the proper rule of conduct between the human couple, since the joy (*ānanda*) of sexual union is the true form of Bhairava. It appears that this archaic ritual developed as an orgiastic sexual union the purpose of which was to procure universal fecundity (rain, harvests, flocks, women, etc) or of creating "magical defense." Likewise sexual bliss is achieved by the union of the *jīva* and his wife, who are the earthly counterparts of Śiva-Śakti and become ritually homologised with Bhairava. It was not so much the hedonistic

element as the element of ensuring a healthy progeny to ensure a steady flow of social surplus that laid great stress on sex-rituals. The Ācāryas may have simply emphasised the necessity of healthy and strong couples in accordance with their conception of Bhairava and Bhairavi as the ideal couple engaged in their sport of involution and evolution. This would also account for the transcending of caste-barriers to achieve the main purpose of sturdy and strong labour force of a large segment of society controlled by means of a variety of ritualistic worship. The mystical identification or communion with Śiva had the same ultimate aim.

Social life among the Śaivas constitutes an important aspect of social organisation. Unlike the individual renouncer, who isolated himself totally, the Śaivas identified themselves with their kins and their society. They did not leave the society into which they were born. They took on the life-style of their original social group. There was no conscious attempt to live in a way that would be alien to the established society. The old tradition of a life-long celibacy maintained by the fourteen saints of the monistic school of Śaiva philosophy was broken by the fifteenth Tryambakāditya. He married a brahmana girl according to brāhmaṇic rites, rituals and traditions. Ever since the Śaivācāryas maintained the practice of a married life. Their attainments in the practice of Śaivayoga of the *Trika* and *Kula* system indicate that they lived a married life. Most of the Śaiva philosophers of Kashmir did not break with the past and like ancient *ṛṣis* led the life of householders after the brāhmaṇic ideals. They shared the responsibilities of a family life, which instead of their spiritual progress, contributed to self-realization through Śaiva-Yoga. The social life of the Śaivas ran counter to asceticism and the *saṃnyāsa* of the renouncer. Where the other dissenting groups denied the Vedas as the source of all knowledge and adopted the symbols of an alternative life-style, the Śaiva's social life approximated more closely to the life of a house-holder, sharing its joys and sorrows, and concentrating, side-by side, on meditation in which state he would constantly enjoy the divine bliss of his unity with Parama Śiva. While attending to all the worldly activities, he would not require any monastic vows or any formal practice to control the physical body and discipline his mind. The Śaivas' path was not beset with any danger or pitfall, arising from a conflict between matter and spirit, which the other schools of thought were hardly able to reconcile. The ultimate

objective of self-dependence is achieved in the realization of God-consciousness, striking a happy compromise between the self and super-self, the domain of man and the kingdom of Heaven. The aspirant, with the aid of the tantric practices or practical Yoga, gradually withdraws his mind from objective activities of imagination and gets merged into the real self by stages. Neither the ascetic way of life nor the path of renunciation has any relevance with the Śaivas. In Kashmir, as in other matriarchal societies, the general notion of women as equals of men has shaped and permeated the organisation of social relation between the sexes.[22] In *homa* offerings to *Agni* and the performance of *yāga* her contribution and participation was most essential. Her share in raising the crops and tending the cattle was by far the largest. It is clear that women enjoyed the rights of ownership, use and exchange. This is indicated by the two stages of manifestation of the universe. When all the subjects see the objects in their gross form, that is the final stage of *Kriyā-Śakti* and the result of *Icchā-Śakti.*[23] The will and action of women constitutes an important factor in the production of tangible goods and a number of minor activities in a succession results in major constructive activities of the world.[24] *Ānanda-Śakti* does not stop nor does the *Icchā-Śakti.*[25] This shows that the activities of a woman are continuous and these contribute to the joy and welfare of the individuals who as *anus* take joy in their own creation.[26] The status of marriage thus stands very high. Husband and wife, as equal partners, feel great pleasure in life, which promises both *bhukti* and *mukti* to them. Somānanda explains how the *spanda* (stir) of Śiva assumes different forms; the form of expanding in the shape of the universe and then tending towards dissolution.[27] The first type of *spanda* is in the very nature of Sakti and is called *Icchā-Śakti,* the desire to manifest and in the second type it is both *jñāna* and *kriyā.*[28] This clearly shows that without the combination of the Male and Female principles, no diversity in unity is possible. Some of the Śaivites would like to call it *Māyātattva* (the element of Māyā) that leads to diversity.[29] As such *Mahāmāyā* is Śiva-Śakti. She is also called Ghora and Ghoratra, who leads to diversity and unity and operates as Śakti in either form.[30] All this piece of evidence suggests that woman ranked as high in social order as men. In fact, she was the source of all creative energy to sustain the race and maintain a constant flow of productivity closely interlinked with the Śaivas level of economic prosperity.

The process of creation is the same at the universal and individual level; the positive and negative forces combine to operate at both the levels. Śiva is conceived as hermaphrodite. He is Himself semen (*vīrya*) and *yoni*. He is complete *Prakāśa*. He goes into *vimarśamaya Yoni*, which is understood in the sense of a woman's *yoni*. *Prakāśamaya virya* by entering into *vimarśamaya yoni* is well nourished and manifests itself in the external creation. This process is explained as follows: *Prakāśa*, when in stir, becomes *vimarśa* or Śakti and when that stir comes to rest, it is Śiva. So the whole concept of Parama Śiva is looked upon as full *Prakāśa or Mahāvīrya*.[31] If Śiva is considered in the context of the interaction of the positive and negative forces, of the combination of the Male and Female principle, this would suggest that woman is the nucleus of the entire manifestation and, in a sense, the motive force behind the entire cosmos. This reflects the matriarchal bias of the Śaivas to whom woman was the mainstay of the sentient animate world of living organism and not just a mere possession of a male-dominated society. According to the Tantras, creation is a mode of Parameśvara's manifestation which is seen in two forms simultaneously—male and female. Considered as a male feeling (*puruṣa-bhāva*), we have the Bhairavas and Rudras and in its female feeling (*strī-bhāva*) we have him in the form of numerous goddesses and *Yoginīs* as the manifestation of his Śaktis.[32] The two are thus the complements of each other, without enjoying any superior or inferior rank in the scheme of things. This shows a strong bias of the plebeian communities towards a utilitarian organisation in which both men and women shared the burden of economic activities as equal partners. The tāntric religious practices were the outcome of a fusion between brāhmaṇical religion and folk/tribal religion and the absorption of aboriginal mother-goddesses in the brāhmaṇical and heterodox pantheon points to the same conclusion. The worship of *sapta-mātṛkās* assumed a prominent place in the Śakta pantheon as the social surplus of their followers multiplied the wealth of the producing masses and made rituals more complex. Most of the mother goddesses like Vārāhī, Aindrī, etc are closely connected with the fertility rites which only indicate the importance of the females in an agro-based economy. These *deities* were not unknown in earlier times.[33] Some of them were terrible-looking, fierce like the fire of dissolution and fully recognized by the Śaktas.[34] The worship of eight *deities* (*mātṛkās*)[35] assumed much

importance when agriculture considerably advanced and most of the mother-goddesses had assumed tāntric traits and were invoked and worshipped according to tāntric rites.[36] In the Āgamas the *jīva* is called *Kṣetrajña* who, like a farmer, sows his body-field with desire and scatters the seed of *dharma* and *adharma* on all sides, and that sprouts the buds of various bodies and *indriyas* which give rise to bliss and pain.[37] This shows that by the time of the composition of the Āgamas, the permanent households were already a characteristic feature of the post-Gupta society in Kashmir. The householdership offered a prospective clientele to the priesthood who may have seen the usefulness of accommodating the mother-goddess worship into their own notions of the theory of creation and the laws of *karma*. The initial stages of agricultural economy created material conditions for the social supremacy of females and that accounts for their pre-eminent position in all household affairs. Women's role in the Āgamas as *Maṭhikāgurus*[38] and *Yoginīs*[39] indicates how even the most difficult yogic practices and *siddhis* were attained with their association. The early eleventh century text of Ksemendra shows how the *sādhaka's* desire for liberation led him to dalliance with women,[40] which seems to be but a corrupted practice of *Vīrayoginī sampradāya* mentioned in the *Tantrāloka*.[41] According to Briffault the development of agricultural civilisation without any intervening pastoral phase enhanced the matriarchal position of women not only as owners and heiresses of the arable land but also through their traditional association with agricultural magic and religion, which assumed in archaic societies a momentous development in correlation with that of agricultural pursuit, the woman retaining for a long period the character of priestess.[42] The brāhmaṇs in order to gain popularity and following among the masses had to compromise with the existing cults and beliefs of the lower strata of society and this was one of the methods through which the female divinities found a prominent place in the male-dominated cults. In Kashmir too, the tribal features of the goddess-worship broke into the strongholds of the priestly class and forced the *Trika* system of *sādhana* on them. Based on the three *tattvas* of *nara* (male), *Śakti* (female) and Śiva, it developed into a popular code of conduct (*ācāra*) with the Śaivas and their philosophy of Trika, laying stress on the three main Śaktis of *Icchā*, *Jñāna* and *Kriyā* (*prakāśa*, *vimarśa* and their conversion into *sāmarasya* or *abheda*).[43] The idea of Śakti gaining popularity was

evidently due to the social pattern arising out of the economic conditions resulting from the mode of production and the tendency to raise sufficient social surplus to maintain and support the non-producing classes. The earlier *Yoginīs*, so often referred to in the Āgamas, were women of flesh and blood and later they were raised to the status of divinity. They occupy an important place in the tantric cults and mode of production in which they seem to have played a key-role, as goddesses of fertility and magic. The tāntric cult of Śricakra represents the sex-ritual, which was believed to ensure the material prosperity of the Tāntrics.

The Śaiva-Sadhaka's (*Śiva-dharmī Sādhaka*) *dīkṣā* begins and is supposed to fulfil his hopes through the Śakta-worship and *Yāga* of Svacchanda Bhairava with Gauri seated on half portion of his body. Human flesh is offered in *homa* along with bdellium.[44] The sādhaka is exhorted to link his mantras with *Śaktitattva* and not with the male (*nara-tattva*) or the *para-tattva* for the reason that it is the mantra in association with *Śakti-tattva* that alone is conducive to the desired fruit.[45] It is stated in the Āgamas [46] that like the ray of the sun, Śakti is inseparable from Śiva. She is the protector of all beings; she is *dīkṣā*; she is the manifestation of Śiva; she is the destroyer of *pāśas*. *Bali-kāmas* (body subject to confusion, fever, hunger, etc) and *bhoktu-kāma* (red eyes, talking much etc) are destroyed through the power of mantras. This would suggest that the protection of all *jīvas* is attained through *bali, mantra, tantra, yoga,* etc and the theory of protection extends to children as well. The various types of protection like the protection of one's ancestors (*ādhāra-rakṣā*), the protection of seed (*bīja-rakṣā*), the protection of womb (*garbha-rakṣā*)[47] etc are meant to show how Śiva-Śakti as patrons of *jīvas* hold an important place in extending grace to all men, women and children in a society where Śaktism still retained its identity in brāhmaṇa-dominated religions. Consequently, the contention that Śaktism and Śaivism are two different cults is totally baseless; Śakti in its different forms of Vāmā, Raudrī, Jyeṣṭha etc held its ground[48] and it appears that the earlier tradition of clan life in which the mother was the head of the group still persisted during the period of the Āgamas. This also explains how the Yogī reaches the highest state by the Śakta process of following the occult process of *Māṭṛkā*.[49] Women thus enjoyed a position of respect down to the eleventh century.[50] The Āgamas maintain that this world is nothing but the form and

substance (*svarūpa*) of Śiva-Śakti. They adopt a very liberal and realistic attitude towards sex and hold that even sensuous joy can be turned into a means of yoga.[51] This is in sharp contrast to the Buddhist philosophy of killing all *vāsanās*.[52]

The Śaivas opened the possibilities of radical change of the individuals in intellectual, moral and social fields. It is evident that the manifestation of Parma-Śiva is a ceaseless, creative activity in which the household-life forms the most important nucleus of creation and dissolution in the temporal sphere. The Śiva-Śakti concept of the Āgamas is surprisingly consistent with the cosmogonic concepts of modern science. The primordial atom of Lemaitre which was the universe in a state of tremendous condensation corresponds to the *bindu*, and the radiation of energy when this atom exploded to the *spandana* (stir or vibration) which creates even expanding circles of space. Unlike the concepts of transcendental absolutism, like the stasis and near-void of a withdrawn Brahman, tantric concept of universal space being structured by phased vibration (*spanda*) and expansion (*sphāra*) form a point origin, Śiva-Śakti (masculine and feminine principles) in indissoluble union is a revolutionary one. The union of pure sentiency (*Prakāśa*) and pure consciousness (*Vimarśa*) explains the genesis of the great evolution or the spiritual liṅgam (*Ādhyātmika Liṅga*). To preserve the brāhmaṇical social order, the brāhmaṇas appropriated the popular mother-goddess cults and remodelled them to suit their own ideology and existing social conditions. The ideology of *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* helped the upper classes to preach their *varṇa* ethics and reconcile the masses to social inequality. The tantrics were justified in upholding conjugal union as a hierogamy to ensure that labour power did not diminish in a mountainous and hilly terrain.

The Āgamas recommend the mystic tantric *sādhanā* called *Caryā*, to be practised by the *Vīra Sādhakas* alone.[53] In Śaiva terminology it is known as *ācāra* or code of conduct. The Śaivas discount any external worship of the deity with flowers, etc.[54] The true worship is the steadying of the intellect in the undisturbed ether of one's mind.[55] Broadly speaking, the *ācāras* of the Śaivas fall under two categories of *Vāmācāra* and *Dakṣiṇācāra*. In the former a sadhaka resorts to all the four *makārās* of wine, fish, meat and coitus with beautiful maidens. Such an *ācāra* gained wide acceptance with one of the branches of the Kāpālikas, and, in course of time,

degenerated into the most reprehensible practices of overpowering, killing, enticing the enemy and gaining *māntrika siddhi* for personal ends in *Kali-Yuga*.[56] The *Dakṣiṇācāra*, on the contrary, laid stress on the practising of *yoga* and external worship and became popular in the South among the followers of Śrīkaṇṭhanātha and Pāśupatas. The sādhaka of Dakṣiṇācāra cult takes a bath regularly, offers daily morning prayers (*saṃndhyā*) and *japa* at noon, sits on a woollen seat (*āsana*), has a meal of milk and rice, a *rudrākṣa mālā* and a stone vessel and enjoys his own wife.[57] Though *Vāmācāra* has not received approval at the hands of the Śaivas, it is still considered to be the supreme code of conduct (*ācāra*) for the Yogis.[58] The reason why *Vāmācāra* was not received favourably seems to lie in the fact that it regarded all *varṇas* being equal,[59] its followers carrying stone-skull (*pāṣāṇamuṇḍaka*) and the bracelets made of a woman's hair, a lion-skin *āsana*[60] etc. It appears that most of the *Vāmācāra* sects maintained their non-brāhmaṇical identity and also the primitive rites and customs such as the five MS, *cakra*, sitting etc. They seem to have maintained a typical ethics of their own and a different attitude towards wine, women and the sexual objects, more in conformity with the spirit of a free society of men and women with minimum social restraints. A *daiśika* initiated in *Vāmamārga* attains a higher end (*Para-tattvavit*), the mysteries of which were not disclosed to the uninitiated.[61] Although influenced by Vedic and brāhmaṇical ideas, the followers of Vāmācāra maintained their own system of *sādhanā*. This is clearly indicated by the inclusion of Vedacāra, Siddhāntācāra and Kaulacara in the broad category of Vāmācāra[62] to which a sadhaka is admitted only through initiation. The *Śaktisaṃgrahatantra*[63] refers to the various worshippers of Gaṇeśa, Rudra, Viṣṇu, Śiva, Svayambhū, Bhairava etc among whom the Vāmācāra system was current. In the Dakṣiṇācāra the Vedic influence is clearly visible. The goddess is worshipped in the Vedic way and the mantras are recited at night by the sādhaka who should be clear internally and externally and a believer in Varṇāśrama.[64] All the four *ācāras*—Vedācāra, Vaiṣṇavācāra, Śaivācāra, and Dakṣiṇācāra— follow the Vedic and Smārta Purānic norms. Thus these *ācāras* show brāhmaṇical superimposition and were therefore condemned by the Vamācara school which was characterized by two main features of initiation and rejection of *varṇa*-rules. This explains why a man belongs to Dakṣiṇācāra by birth and to Vāmācāra only by initiation. It appears

that Dakṣiṇācāra was probably meant for aspirants of a lower category called *paśus* and that only *Vīras* and *Divyas* (higher sadhakas) were qualified for Vamacara. The Vedic and non-Vedic traditions maintained a negative approach towards life and the universe, whereas the Āgamas have a positive approach towards man in the universe. The world is Śiva in all forms and naturally the active involvement of Śiva leads to the enjoyment of life through which the Supreme Reality of the self is to be realized.

Kaulācāra is the most important form of Vāmācāra.[65] The Kaula Sādhakas practise five MS in their own *Kula-cakra* and on the occasion of *Cakra-Yāga*.[66] It seems that the Kaulas as householders worshipped *Kula-strī, Kula-guru, Kula-devī* and carried on the tradition of their forefathers, who had been brought up in a matriarchal society. The *Rudrayāmala* traces the origin of Kaulacara to Vaśisṭhas' visit to China and lays down the procedure for the worship of Tārā.[67] In the Śākta tantras *kula* denotes Śakti and *akula* Śiva: the realisation of their equilibrium (*Samarasya*) is the aim of a Kula worshipper. In the *Tantrāloka kula* is the penultimate state of the realisation of the ultimate reality.[68] According to Vaśiṣṭha's evidence Kaulācāra is the most excellent *ācāra* of all, excelling Dakṣiṇācāra and Vāmācāra.[69] Its critics uphold the orthodox point of view and state that it is an 'uncouth way' followed by those who have no faith in the Vedas, Agnihotras and pious deeds.[70] This may be due to the fact that this *ācāra* violated the varṇa rules and admitted even *cāṇḍālas* and *yavanas* to its code of conduct.[71] Kaulas are praised and held in high esteem for their being above purity and impurity. They elevate the *mlecchas, cāṇḍālas* and *śvapacas* by their association.[72] The Kaula should regard every woman as his mother. A woman can never be bad. No deed should be performed by a Kaula which offends a woman.[73] Established in their *Kula pūjā* (clan-worship) or the worship of Śiva-Śakti, the Kaulamārgīs are called Kaulas.[74] Our sources indicate that Kaulas observed the traditions and customary worship of their forefathers and females inherited from generation to generation. This would suggest that Śiva-Śakti worship was but an evolved system of those domestic rites in which *Kula-devīs* and *Kula-gurus* held an important place. The dialectics of Śiva-Śakti led, in due course of time, to the *Trikācāra*, which was the synthesis of the concept of triple principles (*tattvas*) of the male (*nara*), Śiva and Śakti or *aṇu, jīva* and Śakti or the development of the Āgamas into Āgama, *Pratyabhijñā* and

Siddhānta. The formation of the three principles (*tattvas*) into one is called Trika and the followers of these *tattvas* are called Trika brāhmaṇas whose *kram* (surname) Tikoo still survives with a sizeable majority of Kashmiri brāhmaṇas today. The Trikācāra suggests that the individual as a unit of the social organism occupied a pivotal position and his material and spiritual well-being received primary consideration. The synthesis of the *Trikācāra, Kaulacara* and *Kulacara* appears to be the basic objective with the Śaivas for whom the triad of Śiva, Śakti and *nara* was the highest *acara* (*mahacara*). The philosophy of Kaula *tantras* and Kaula Upaniṣads centres round fundamental concept of Śaivas with strong Śākta leanings. Harmonious relations/blending of Śiva (*Akula*) and Śakti (*Kula*) is *Kaulas'* path of life and the individual's supreme object of reconciling matter with spirit. While the efficacy of Dakṣiṇācāra is described as limited and painful, that of Kaulācāra is held to be positively advantageous. Dakṣiṇācāra is like crossing a river with the help of a jar, while the Kaula system is like crossing a river on a nice, comfortable boat.[75] The procedure of Kaulācāra is explained in detail in a late text of the ninth to eleventh century.[76] This shows that *Kaulacara* was practised till late eleventh century. According to the *Devīrahasya* a Kaulik is delivered from great sins and all diseases if he worships the sun, writes the Śrīcakra in water and propitiates the family deities (*parivāra-devatā*) and manes (*pitṛis*).[77]

Some of the Bheda-Śāstras like the *Netra Tantra* recommend the adoption of Samayācāra to make one's nature pure.[78] This system seems to cover the customary religious obligations of the Sādhakas to achieve siddhis.[79] There are listed the various means of subduing others by magical expedients and substances ranging from a moon-stone to *dhaturaka*.[80] But in Kaula Śāstras such practices are prohibited.[81] It appears that sadhakas of an inferior category could not advance beyond the system of traditional usages. As most of them took to magic and the attainment of ordinary *siddhis*, they were regarded as unfit to achieve the stage of even *Vāmācāra*. They may have served as domestic labourers who were mostly engaged in agricultural operations and the service of their masters. They seem to have formed a class of those sādhakas who were called upon to look after the day to day requirements of *Kulagurus* and *Kuladevīs*. They were thus a very important segment of the society whose main concern was to provide the complete

outfit for a household.

The Āgamas analyse the various methods to make the life of a sādhaka meaningful. Taking note of the strong emotions like desires, anger, greed, infatuation, arrogance and envy, the Āgamas recommend a number of *upāyas* (means) to free a sādhaka from several limitations. If the sadhaka is a highly developed soul, there are no conditions of the objects of meditation; nor is there the need of any object of worship; nor is there any mantra or *mantra-devatā*; nor any *dīkṣā* nor any guru, nor any disciple.[82] All the restrictions laid down in the Śāstras do not apply to them and their existence is meant to remove the distress of others,[83] as they are self-realized with the attainment of their object and bound by their obligations to serve and extend grace to others. Such a Parameśvara-like *Guru* for the sake of his disciples must have respect for Śāstras and never give up its traditions.[84] This is called *Āṇavopāya* state[85] in which the Śaktimān Deva Śiva does not need anybody's support. This shows that guru's grace is absolutely essential in removing the distress of the devotees who surrender themselves to their guru, who is almost free to follow the injunctions of the Śāstras. The sādhakas as producer-clients depend totally on their masters who seem to have exploited their social surplus for their own ends and assured them of spiritual elevation without little exertion (*anupāya*). *Anupāya* (*gatopāya*) consists of the *darśana* of Siddhas and Yoginīs and offerings of food (*naivedya*) to and the service of the *guru*.[86] This would suggest that the *gurus* were free from the restraints of any regulations of meditation, *dhāraṇā* and mantra. As they are self-realized with the attainment of their object, their subtle *jñāna* of *Anupāya* is called main *Yāga, homa,* etc. There is no need of *maṇḍala, kuṇḍa, nyāsa* or bath.[87] Another *upāya* is called *Śāmbhavopāya* and is often equated with *anupāya*. The deep *svarupa jñāna* that leads a Yogī to a state of *nirvikalpa* is called *Śāmbhava-mudra* and is achieved through *Śāmbhavopāya*[88] and is the highest *upāya* of withdrawing one's mind from everything external and turning it within as a tortoise withdraws its limbs within its shell on the occasion of a great danger. When a Yogī is thus intensely introverted, the passion becomes calmed like a charmed snake; all *vikalpas* are shed like leaves in autumn.[89] One should not dwell on suffering or pleasure.[90] If one perceives the cosmos as mere jugglery conjured up by some magician or as illusory as the movement of trees, etc he experiences great happiness.[91] This indicates that this

class of non-producers completely withdraw from economic activities, participating little in the process of production and relied on the labour potential of the surplus producing class of lay devotees. They seem to have been least concerned about the lot of the producers, their suffering or misery.

They realize that the self characterized by consciousness is the same in all and has become identified with the essential self. They acquire the consciousness of one-ness (*samatā*).[92] This would mean that they identify their own interests with those of the producing class, regarding the latter as destined to work for them for the simple reason that there is no difference in *Cetanā* (consciousness) in all embodied things from a venomous insect, a small red ant and a worm to Sadāśiva.[93] The same self characterized by consciousness is present in all the bodies; there is no difference in it anywhere.[94] If man comes to realize that *jñāna* and *kriyā* are the common characteristics of all manifestation, that all are co-sharers of this divine gift, he will shed his insularity and feel his kinship with all. This *dhāraṇā* is Śāktopāya.[95] Abhinavagupta explains it thus: "It is one and the same self that shines as one's own self as well as selves of others".[96] All these points show that the individuals are urged by the same common consciousness of the self and that while the majority work as surplus raising producers, they are, in fact, obeying their own consciousness to work for their 'kin' who choose to be non-producers, claiming to be advanced in spiritual line and working for the benefit of their own and those who provide them with their social surplus. Such an ideology may have reconciled the surplus-raising producers to the disabilities suffered by them while surrendering their social and economic equality to a non-productive class. This would mean that Śiva (*Vibhu*) Śakti and *Jīva* exist together and could be explained in a tabular form thus:

Śiva	Śāmbhava	Icchā
Śakti	Śākta	Jñāna
Jīva	Ānava	Kriyā

As Śāmbhava Jñāna is excellent, so it is called *Anupāya*. It is higher than the other *upāyās*. Lying in *Ānanda-Śakti*, it is called *Anuttara* or *Citta-Jñāna*.[97] In Śiva's *Citt-Śakti Ānanda-Śakti, Icchā-Śakti, Jñāna-Śakti, Kriyā-Śakti*, it is clear that while Citta-Jñāna (*Citta-Śakti*) stands at the apex, *Kriyā-Śakti* forms the base and is represented by the jīvas who are bound to the mill-stone of

production whereas the class of Yogis characterized by *Citt-Śakti* occupies a place of prominence and is immune from the labour involved in raising the surplus.

Another *upāya* called *Śāktopāya*[98] lays stress on the technique of mantra which is the divine Supreme I-consciousness. The key of *Śāktopāya* is *jñāna*. Therefore it is also called *Jñānopāya*. The *Śiva Sūtra* recommends spontaneous close application in firmly taking hold of the initial emergence of the desire for quest of the spirit of the mantra.[99] Mere association (*samāveśa*) of the meaning of the mantra in one's mind is called *Śāktopāya*.[100] It is one of the means that takes into account the universal consciousness as constituting each and every object as Śiva, thus driving away from the mind of the aspirant all selfish and sensuous desire. It would thus free his mind of useless thought-constructs (*vikalpas*) and ensure his entry into the divine consciousness. The brāhmaṇas prepared an ideological base for the participation of the producers in the process of production by maintaining that any object being meditated upon as Śiva can no longer stand out as something different from Śiva, something isolated from the universal stream of consciousness but is bound to appear as that universal consciousness itself in that particular aspect.[101] This was how the brāhmaṇas made a dent into the tribal society which shared in common the fruit of their labour and would not allow outsiders to join their ranks. The brāhmaṇas without prejudice to their customs and traditions upheld the theory that there was nothing like purity and impurity and that the reality of Bhairava was apparent everywhere, even among common folk.[102] The process of assimilation and absorption of the tribals, with their strong leanings to tribal goddesses, was achieved by impressing upon them the reality of Bhairava. Man is Śiva already in essence. The essential reality in him has put on the mask of *jīva*. When the *jīva* intensely recognises his essential reality, the mask is thrown off. The stage of *vilaya* or veiling disappears; grace (*anugraha*) is operative now, and the jīva becomes Śiva that he was in reality.[103] This is Śāktopāya. The *Śākta-mantra* is not to be employed either in *nara-bhāva* (male state) or in *Śiva-bhāva*. Its application in the male state (*nara-bhāva*) leads to idiocy and to the highest element (*para-tattva*) to no fruit. The employment of the mantra in Śakti yields the fruit of all karmas.[104] The syncretism of Śakta and Śaiva cults, the assimilation of mother goddess into Bhairava was the most effective way of absorbing the tribal deities

into the *Śaivite* divinities. Thus it is apparent that the Śiva-Śakti cult had non-Vedic popular roots. Their identification with Bhairava led to the brāhmaṇisation of their cults. This shows the dominance of the brāhmaṇic ideology in the syncretistic cult of Bhairava-Bhairavi or Śiva-Śakti. The various divinities of non-Aryan origins were brāhmaṇised and the non-Vedic people were given the mental satisfaction of being Śiva even as producers and through the grace of the Śaivite or tantric brāhmaṇas were led to believe that even as *jīvas* or primary producers of consumer goods they could become Śiva, no matter even though they were engaged in pursuits other than intellectual or spiritual.

They were told that the spiritual life of an aspirant was not divorced from his domestic life. Through their vital breath (*prāṇas*), *mudras*, the practice of the sounding of words (*dhvanya*), *dhāraṇā*, etc the sādhaka gets merged (*samāveśa*) into the highest reality.[105] This is called *Ānavopāya* or the Yoga whereby the individual utilizes his senses, *prāṇa* and *manas* for self-realization. The cult of ecstatic life is a reflection of the married life of a couple that experiences supreme pleasure in their sexual union.[106] The *Ānavopāya* may have prevailed among the lower classes who could hardly find much time to devote themselves to other *dhāraṇās* like the *Anupāya* and *Śāmbhavòpāya*. Thus *Āṇavopāya* provided a convenient means for assimilating and adjusting those tribals who followed occupations contrary to the orthodox practice. In their case married life and sensuous joy could turn into a means of yoga.[107] This would suggest that *Āṇavopāya* was recommended for those who could not take themselves to a highly disciplined life or spiritual exercise of a higher order. This speaks of four kinds of *sādhakas* classified on the basis of their respective degrees of devotion to one of the four *upāyas*. Unlike the earlier Vedic rituals of sacrifices, tantrism answered the needs of the lower varṇas by allowing them to worship Śiva-Śakti in their own way. It did not damage their religious beliefs or customs but merely assimilated and fitted them into a brāhmaṇical framework without creating any antagonism. We have already discussed several pieces of evidence indicating the popularity of Śiva-Śakti among the lower classes.

There are hardly any records of a popular character which could give us an adequate idea of the social organisation and *varṇa* system. The orthodox texts or the *Āgamas* maintain that the first phase of recognising one's self (*pratyabhijñā*) consists in recognizing

the *jīva* (the empirical self) as Śiva, the identity of the individual self with the universal self. The second phase consists in recognizing the fact that this glory of manifestation is mine. This consists in recognizing the identity of the universe with the self.[108] It shows that the Śaivites did not conform strictly to the *varṇa* order; they adopted a liberal attitude towards different varnas. The *Svacchanda Tantra* mentions the characteristic features of people, some of whom are happy and some extremely unhappy, some fair-complexioned, some dark-complexioned, some of grey complexion, because of the differences from *varṇa* and *jāti* and being devoted to their various duties. There are four *varṇas* and men of the lowest caste. The four *varṇas* and *antyajas* speak different languages. There are skilled and unskilled *Śilpīs, Yogīs, Jñānīs* and highly righteous people. There are many female slaves, male slaves etc. There are many beggars and donors.[110] This shows that during the period of the Āgamas society was divided on the varna basis. But owing to geopolitical factors and with a view to combating Buddhism and preserve the brāhmaṇical social order, the tantric brāhmaṇas appropriated the popular cults commanding a significant following. The Śaivas absorbed the lower varṇas and disregarded the varṇa rules and ritualistic practices. Tantrism provided a powerful instrument for assimilating and adjusting the tribes into the brāhmaṇical social order. The three malas—*āṇava-mala, māyīya-mala* and *kārma-mala* were as such applicable to higher classes as to lower varṇas. The Āgamas recommend the purification of these *malas* as much in respect of higher varnas as in the case of lower varṇas. The desire in one's mind gives rise to these *malas* and the knowledge or *jñāna* for the sublimation of those *vāsanās* lies in pure consciousness (*Jñāna-svarūpa saṃvit*).[111] This rules out the distinction of various varṇas which are balanced equally in the background of *malas* and need purification prior to their initiation into Bhairava cult. Śaiva-dharma overlooks all differentiations on the basis of varṇa and considers all varṇas to belong to one varna of *Jaṭādhārīs* (matted-hair disciples) who observe the rules of commensality.

The behaviour pattern of the Śaivas shows that they had no social pretensions. Though they did not openly condemn the varṇa order, they, nevertheless, maintain that after being initiated the sādhakas belong to one caste-less Bhairavajāti.[112] This idea is repeated in all the Tantras. The extent to which the tantrists lend

support to the Bhairavajāti may be realised from the fact that they are indifferent to the conventions regarding food and social discipline. Fish and meat was offered to ten Bhairavas[113] and the same food was likewise taken both by the *Yajamāna* and the tāntric brāhmaṇas participating in those rituals. Abhinavagupta, the tenth-century Śaivācārya, categorically states that it is of little importance as to what is to be eaten and what is to be avoided since the essence of thought is the light of intelligence (*Prakāśa*) and the essence of *Prakāśa* is thought (*Vimarśa*).[114] The Ācārya holds that *kriyā* and yoga is meant for Yogīs of meagre intellect whereas for highly initiated Sādhakas there is no yoga and kriyā.[115] This shows that the Śaivas did not go by external formalities or *Smṛti* injunctions about varna rules but recognised that the self was all important, it being characterized by consciousness present in all the bodies, there being no difference in it anywhere.[116] Those who realize the identity of the individual self with Īśvara and merge everything such as jar, body, *prāṇa,* pleasure and even their non-being in him, truly know Śiva.[117] Even Cāṇḍālas and Yavanas are entitled to follow the Kaula way (*Kulācāra*).[118] The liberation of the Sudras and Yavanas can be achieved through *Vāmācāra.*[119] The *Muṇḍamata Tantra* says that becoming a Kaula means losing one's caste-identity.[120] Perhaps the only qualification required for being admitted in Kulācāra is that the initiate should be bodily and mentally fit and have firm faith in the creed.[121] But it is doubtful whether *kriyā* relating to rituals, etc was completely done away with. Although *caryā* which was an esoteric practice related to sex was mostly kept secret for higher sadhakas, we find seven types of 'C'—*Caryā-Vratas* (fasts) being prescribed and listed in the *Svacchanda-tantra*.[122] These are Bhauteśa, Pāśupatya, Gaṇa, Gaṇeśvara, Unmattaka, Asidhāra, Ghrtesa.[123] These may have been practised by the various tribes of the same name over whom the brāhmaṇas seem to have maintained their control by exploiting those solemn fasts as means of ensuring a regular supply of gifts and *dakṣiṇā*. Śiva is said to bless devotees with *bhakti*[124] of his own free will which would suggest that his supreme surrender to the deity and offering him all his valuables would determine his *parā-bhakti* (highest devotion).

The ethical code of the Śaivas is tailored to suit their ideology. One who is perfidious against mother, father and guru, kills a learned brāhmaṇa, an embryo, a child etc is deformed and bears

the marks of womanhood and becomes a large cattle. Those who disparage the gurus and mantras go to the burning earth, empty places and places inhabited by snakes, which are the places of torture.[125] The *Svacchanda Tantra* names one hundred and forty hells.[126] Those who violate the rules of the Śāstras, are guilty of misdeeds are tortured by ferocious *Lokapuruṣas*[127] (officers in charge of persons' conduct). Persons engaged in bad occupations, impostors, men unjust to lower *jātis*, doing violence to others, wooing others' wives, removing temple property, killing a brāhmaṇa or a cow, committing the theft of gold and earth, disparaging Śiva-Śāstras, etc suffer most dreadful consequences. On the contrary, those who are truthful, forbearing, non-violent, given to ceremonial purity, are just, merciful and sincere do not go to hell. Those who have controlled their senses, are liberal, pleasing in manners, without ego, not disloyal, not coveting others' prosperity, un-envious, steadfast in their devotion to Śiva, without miserliness, worshipping their manes (*pitṛis*), taking refuge in cows and brāhmaṇas, non-interfering, not confused and absolutely pure never see the hell.[128] Righteous persons conforming to the brāhmaṇical code of conduct are assured of the plenty and the sweet company of divine maidens (*devakanyās*) in the legendary Malaya mountains of Malayadvīpa.[129] There are souls that have attained to Śiva-hood. It is a land free from jealousy and ignorance; *ṛṣis* and *vīras* are steadfast in *jñāna*, yoga and *japa* and people are devoted to the worship of Tryambaka.[130] Persons approaching the sacrificial fire respectfully, offering *dāna* to *guru* and the *jñānīs* and full of exertion are praised.[131] Treachery to their masters and a desire to kill brāhmaṇas is censured in all the Āgamas.[132] This would suggest that disobedience to *gurus* and evil designs against brāhmaṇas were strongly censured and the whole brāhmaṇical ideology was meant to perpetuate their hold on the primary producers under the threat of the worst of evils that would follow the violation of the brāhmaṇa ethics. The concept of different *bhuvanas*; Brahmāṇḍa, Rudraloka, etc is designed in such a way as to impress on the clientele that through the will of Śiva the veils are torn and the ways of *mokṣa* cleared. The seven *Lokeśvaras* or Lokapālas (guardians of the *Lokas*) are mentioned in the order of Śarva, Rudra, Bhīma, Bhava, Ugra, Māhadeva and Īśana which seemingly correspond to the *Saptamātṛkā* the worship of which was so popular among the lower *varṇas*. They seem to have been the

chiefs of different tribes who formed a class of nobility among them and possibly regulated the channels of redistribution of wealth/ social surplus raised by the rest of the tribe which, in the time of the Āgamas, seem to be no longer equal partners in tribal wealth.

The yogic practices are not to be revealed to the disciples of another tradition or those who were mischievous, cruel and wanting in devotion of their spiritual teachers but to those whose minds were free from oscillating opinions, to *vīras*, to magnanimous persons. For this everlasting treasure the disciple should give his village, kingdom, city and country, son, daughter and family. Even one's life may be renounced.[133] This clearly indicates the feudal character of *guru-sādhaka* relationship. The sādhaka is required to give almost all his possessions in lieu of the Śivaistic teachings. Not only the village or kingdom are to exchange hands but even the belongings of sons, daughters and family are to be surrendered to the overlord along with the obligation of pledging one's life in the service of one's master. Perhaps no list of feudal obligations could be more comprehensive and exacting than the one outlined here. The gifting of land and the precedence it takes over other items of *dāna* shows the value it had acquired during the period and the increased interest in agriculture. The gifting of land for merit and more so for raising the status and rank of the initiates is quite obvious. The *Āgamas* state that the *dīkṣita*, to absolve himself from all the obligations to *ṛṣis*, *devas*, and *pitṛis* should gift away land in the following order. The head of *deśa* (*deśādhykṣa*) should gift away hundred villages, the head of a *maṇḍala* (*maṇḍaleśa*) of hundred villages five, the owner of twenty villages one, the owner of one a *kṣetra* (plot of land), and the possessor of a *kṣetra* should give away the twentieth part of his land ownership.[134]

Gift giving was an important aspect of the social and economic life of the age of the Āgamas. Though it started in association with religious ritual and symbolism, it soon acquired a socio-economic importance. The *dakṣiṇā* to the gods and *ṛṣis* may be symbolic but to the guru it consisted of actual objects. Mauss maintains that in gift exchange certain categories of people are involved in almost ritualised exchange which are embedded in the larger continuum of social and economic relations.[135] It is not arbitrary but is based on the notion of value. Among the gifts there is the pointed reference to land, which, quite evidently, was synonymous with

wealth. Ths is also evident from the use of words like *deśādhykṣa, maṇḍaleśa, grāmabhuk, kṣetra-bhoktā* which indicate that land was the most important economic unit and the basis of material life. A Sāmanta is defined as one who rules over a territory and through his Sāmantaship enjoys a village. With the loss of the village or half of it, he becomes dispossessed (*anīśvara*).[136] Land as an accepted token of wealth is significant since wealth is a demonstration of status. The system of gift exchange kept goods and people in circulation in a particular pattern. It was a means of maintaining political relationship and ranking.[137] It was a means of obliging the *devas* and *ṛṣis* by means of exchanging and redistributing economic wealth without exposing the land-owners to the odium of concentrating the riches in their hands.[138] The donor is largely benefited by being admitted into Śiva-dharma.[139] Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas, Śūdras and others enjoy equality of status. They are called *Jāṭādharas* (followers of Śiva). They are *Samayins* or the followers of the code of Bhairvagamas.[140] Ostensibly the gift of land serves a magico-religious function in which the initiated are assured of their communion with *devas* and *ṛṣis*. But what is important is that it confers status on the donors for whom caste-labels lose their rigidity and they are given the privilege of sharing food in common with men of higher *varṇas*.[141] Thus the social surplus acquired through the labour of different *jātis*, was channelled to the *tantric gurus* either through *dāna* or through *dakṣiṇā* at the *yajña*. The *dāna* of land has a direct relation to caste status where the acceptability of a particular number of villagers is dependant on social ranking. Gifts of land constituted the germ of what was later to develop into a new agrarian structure with its peculiar social and economic formations.[142]

The landed property that came to the Ācāryas by free gift provided material comforts and pleasures to them and a sense of security to the donors. The *deśādhyakṣas, grāmādhyakṣas*, etc looked for a patron/an ally powerful enough to offer them protection and act as a mediator in the dispute with their peasants. This accounts for a gift of village or so in favour of their patrons. This is clearly indicated by the frequent troubles and uprisings of Ḍāmara peasant chiefs from the time of the Kārkoṭas onwards.[143] The heads of *deśas* and villages placed themselves under the protecting care of the Ācāryas and agreed to surrender a part of their wealth in lieu of such protection. The Ācārya acted as the "strategic ally" of these

princes/vassals, kept their economy afloat and provided an ideological base for inducing the peasants to pay the social surplus to their lords (*deśādhykṣas*) etc. The Ācāryas thus seem to have never hidden their willingness to assist these feudal lords turned vassal-disciples into acquiring this surplus, a part of which in the form of *dakṣiṇā* of a village or so was sufficient to maintain them and their alliance with these Rājaputras. The Ācāryas may have exercised moral and ideological pressure on these peasants in peripheral areas to part with their surplus and render allegiance to their lords. The heads of villages or districts seem to have reached a settlement with their protectors, but on their own terms, to get their authority recognized in those belts where the peasants were difficult to control. This must have helped them to obtain the tacit recognition from their peasants which normally they would have failed to get with force in such inhospitable areas where tribal loyalties were still strong. Though the number of villages gifted/donated to the Ācāryas may seem exaggerated, it, nevertheless, looks that peasants may have posed a serious threat to the authority of the *deśādhyksas* etc and their partial lack of military credibility that led them to willingly surrender a major part of their social surplus in favour of the Ācāryas to deal with their peasants. The *deśādhykṣas*, etc were very shrewd lords, men who had learnt the art of survival and realized how unwise it was to deal with their peasants. They seem to have found out from experience and the recurrence of frequent Ḍāmara revolts that no agreement with their peasants on the sharing of the social surplus would stick unless the Ācārya-peasant combine was committed wholly to it. An agreement with the Ācārya was a necessity for him to safeguard his feudal militia against attacks by Ḍāmara-peasant alliance and other radical elements. The political history of the post-Kārkoṭa period reveals how, compelled by circumstances, the feudal lords might have transferred their allegiance from the king to the Ācārya and made all possible concessions to maintain their precarious hold over a refractory peasantry. And so, the lay *sādhakas* employed their Ācāryas as tools to contain the simmering discontent of an impoverished peasantry. But as time progressed, the dis-contentment could no longer be checked and the subsequent history of the land shows how both the Ācāryas and the *sādhakas* failed to dispel the darkness, and reversing their hold on the afflicted primary producers.

The use of the concepts of 'feudalism' and 'mode of production' possess considerable value in focusing our attention on central problems, especially on the structured, class-ordered character of the societies in question. The Āgamas mention rituals in which lands were divided in order to formalise the separation of the *Ācārya's* and *Sādhaka's* rights out of an originally undivided estate. We are told that at the end of oblations to the fire even the *liṅgīs* (*brahmacārins* with matted hair) were propitiated. The *sādhaka* is exhorted to please his master with all the means at his disposal. Of the various categories of the *sādhakas*, the *Deśādhykṣa* is to surrender one hundred, *Maṇḍaleśa* fifty villages, the enjoyer of hundred villages one village, the enjoyer of one village one *kṣetra*, and the enjoyer of one *kṣetra* one twentieth of his land-holding to the *guru*. The *Svacchanda* explicitly states that the disciple should part with even the most valuable things to the complete satisfaction of his *guru*.[144] That is how he is to obtain freedom from debt and is compelled to pay (*pradāpayet*) all his gifts right from a flower to his vital breath.[145] Elsewhere the same text states that a *sāmanta*, by virtue of his position, enjoys the produce of a village and when deprived of half of it, is deprived of his control/proprietary right over the surrendered portion. He neither grieves nor feels perturbed but is easily diverted by the remaining half,[146] which is left under his control. After the disciple had rendered the obligations of a *good śiṣya* (italics mine), he was served with the remaining portion of the oblation to the gods, consisting of rice, barley and pulse, together with other *sādhakas*.[147] Thus *caru* (food) was used to express the bonds between the *sādhakas* in their individual capacity with the clan of the *ācāryas*, the symbol of unity being the *maṇḍala*, in which the individual and group loyalties were integrated. This suggests affinity between the tantric *gurus* and their disciples and implies a broad context of assimilation and dissemination. This was a complex mechanism associated with surplus extraction, in this respect religious and institutional. What we are indentifying, therefore, are: an ideological category of confraternity, as also the quasi-familial bonds generated by the ācārya and lordship over means of production.

One cannot ignore the fact that there is no universally applicable definition of feudalism. There have been variations in the nature of feudal societies in relation to land distribution and the appropriation of agricultural products has differed from region to

region. Nevertheless, feudalism has to be seen as a mode of distribution of the means of production and of the appropriation of surplus. It appears in a predominantly agrarian economy which is characterized by a class of landlords and a class of dependant peasantry. The current Marxists take a general view of the system as the one where the landlords, through extra-economic methods (social, religious or political) extract surplus from the peasants. Thus the system of production may be defined as feudal when surplus is generated through non-economic forces (through political and military power backed up by juridical institutions). The lord-peasant relationship and the exploitation of the estate by its owner/controller/enjoyer or beneficiary constitute the core of this system. The dependence of the peasant has to be judged in its right perspective. Those peasants who were compelled to pay heavy rents to their landlords as well as labour were as servile as those who supplied only labour. They were awkwardly situated and, perhaps, in no way better off than those serfs who were bound to the farms of their lords in Western Europe. Even if it be admitted that the peasant had complete control over the means of production, it is doubtful if he could retain the fruit of his labour and save his surplus being appropriated by his landlord. The Āgamas make it clear that the *sāmanta's* supreme control (*rājyam*) made him enjoy the various types of rents from the village under his control.[148] And when deprived of half of his share in it, he lost his superior rights (*anīśvara*).[149] Surely the *sāmantaship* created superior rights of the *sāmanta* in the land of the peasants and rendered their control over the means of production less operational. The blanket instructions of the Āgamas place the *sādhakas* at the *guru's* beck and call and beckon them to follow his commands[150] and offer him all (*sarvam*) to please him. The *sādhaka* is to abandon dishonesty in concealing his riches to clear off his feudatory obligations (lit. debts) to the *guru*.[151] We have thus well defined stages of land rights in the same piece of land. We have the newly installed tantric *guru*, the *sāmanta* and the *kārṣaka* (the rent-paying tenant peasant).

Hierarchical control over land seems to have been created from the fifth century onwards. We hear of several categories of land-owners: *Deśādhykṣas*, *Maṇḍaleśas*, enjoyers of hundred villages, one village, one *kṣetra*,[152] etc. The *Rājataraṅgiṇī*[153] even mentions a *Daśagrāmī* (owner of ten villages). Such a process of feudal production characterised by division of soil amongst the greatest

possible number of sub-feudatories is in line with the generalisation made by Marx.[154] Feudalism thus 'assumes different aspects, and runs through its various phases in different orders of succession.'[155] It is obvious that chiefs, warriors and *ācāryas* had a greater share in the sources of production. They got their lands cultivated by petty peasants and lived on the surplus produced by them.

A look at the technical terms used for those who held large estates and enjoyed their produce shows that it was a privileged class as against the peasants who were the primary producers, but not in complete control of the means of production. Many villages and plots of land were transferred/surrendered to tantric *gurus*, who, as a class of new beneficiaries, came to have direct control over the means of production. Ideology and juridical authority alike acquired for them an effective control in the mode of production because of their superior rights over land, which was the chief means of production. The beneficiaries soon converted their title into possession and treated the donated village as their estate. They made a lot of surplus by manipulation of the production resources and processes of the donated fields.

The question of surplus collection/distribution was of paramount importance. The lord's share of rent (in labour, cash/kind) and the patron-client system of distribution are governed primarily by the relations between the peasant and the landlord. More product means more surplus. The lord's control and superior rights inversely led to the decreasing control of the peasant over his unit of production and access to communal agrarian resources. The transfer of villages and plots of land to the tantric *ācāryas* implied the transfer of peasants, artisans, etc. The surplus labour utilized on their lords' land created conditions of serfdom. Even if this situation did not exist, and, instead, the peasants used the extra hours of labour on their own cultivated units, the extra yield did not stay with them. On the contrary, it went to the landlord in the form of more rent in kind/cash. In either case the lord was assured of more surplus with or without the employment of serfs. The contention of Mukhia that serfdom was incidental to feudalism[156] does not, therefore, hold good. The Āgamas do not show that forced and unpaid labour was used for purposes other than agricultural production. Its incidence was not, in any way, marginal since land was the major source of production in Kashmir.

There is no evidence to suggest that the transfer of a village/villages to the *ācārya* took place without the attachment of the peasants liable to render forced labour. A *sādhaka* was, in fact, to offer anything without being dishonest in concealing his assets, which, of course, could not exclude his manpower in the form of the peasants and artisans attached to his land. Paddy cultivation required many man-hours, which could be possible only with the employment of forced labour in less populated areas in Kashmir. Ecological factors and a single crop-production too made the attachment of the peasants to the soil compulsory, especially [illegible] the short peak season of May-June.

Mukhia is of the opinion that a high quantum of agrarian surplus (in the form of land-revenue and cesses etc to the state), which formed the chief instrument of exploitation, was made possible through the high fertility of land, low subsistence level and free-peasant production. This, according to him, restored a kind of equilibrium and facilitated the state's appropriation of the peasant's surplus in conditions of relative stability. He goes to the extent of saying that whenever this equilibrium was disturbed, it led either to the migration of the peasant or an outbreak of violence, and adds that the peasant's independent control over his process of production eliminated the possibility of acute tension.[157] The seeming stability of which Mukhia talks was promoted by other factors which were closely linked with the system of production relations. First, the institution of Bhairavajati, besides fostering fraternal ties, provided ritualistic sanction for the production and distribution system.

The tantric *gurus* played a crucial ideological role in reconciling the masses to surrendering their surplus. The practice of commensality in the Śaivamaṭhikās played no less an important role in containing the conflict and scotching tension. People of opposite interests were brought together under the parental care of the *ācāryas* who advocated the theory of *svātantrya* even for a tiny insect. They were assured the same rank and status as that of the *acarya* even in the position of *jīvas* (persons covered by different *malas*). This is how the tantric *gurus* sought to bring the people of opposite interests together. The position of classes is to be located in the overall system of production. Unlike the capitalist system of production, there was no single class exclusively in control of the means of production or the one completely deprived of such

control. As stated by E.J. Hobsbawm, "The serf, though under the control of the lord, is, in fact, an economically independent producer."[158] Even though the peasant might have enjoyed autonomy in the means of production, the society got fragmented on the basis of the unequal distribution of the surplus. The division of society into classes has to be seen in this context. A wide range of social formations might have existed in the minimum universals of the concept of feudalism, but they broadly centre round the class of landlords and dependent peasantry. And in the present context [illegible] and-owning *sādhakas* strengthened the order of the *ācāryas*, [illegible], as landed beneficiaries, buttressed the basic structure. Tantrism was the sanction behind it; and it survived on it. The moment the material structure collapsed, it also led to the weakening of the entire tantric framework.

Central question here, as elsewhere in the case of other regions of India, is whether all the modes of production which have been part of the European historical experience bear any close similarity in a non-European society. Sharma, the major exponent of the feudalism thesis for India, finds it replicated.[159] Perkin too appears to see India in feudal terms but classifies feudalism according to two distinctive kinds of intention and meaning[160] of the concept of feudalism and mode of production. Mukhia denies that Indian society could be seen as a variant of feudalism and holds that pre-colonial Indian society was characterized by self-dependent or free-peasant production.[161]

In any debate on the relevance or irrelevance of the category of feudalism, we are examining the nature of the *dominant mode of production* in a particular society, or, to use the Marxist notion, in a particular *social formation*. By mode of production we mean 'an articulated combination of relations and forces of production.' This does not, however, mean that in a particular mode of production a *single* set of productive forces should articulate with a *single* set of relations of production. A concrete analysis of different concrete situations shows that such restrictive interpretation is not only unacceptable but also difficult to sustain. Hindess and Hurst (though they later on change their stand) make it clear that the concept of mode of production as an articulated combination of relations and forces does not preclude the possibility of variation at the level of relations of the forces of production. On the contrary the structure of a determinate mode of

production specifies a complex space of variation and the variant forms that are possible within that space. Variant forms are not contingent empirical deviations from the purity of the general concept of mode of production. The concept of a determinate mode of production defines the specific variant forms that are possible as a necessary effect of its structure.[162] The specific economic form (in the tantric framework) which the mode of production took in extracting un-paid surplus labour from direct producers determined the relationship between the *Ācāryas* and their *Sādhakas*. It grew directly out of production itself and, in turn, reacted upon it as a *determining element*. Upon it was based the entire formation of the Ācārya community and their economy, which grew up out of the production relations themselves as shown above. This demonstrates the *correspondence* between the forces and relations of production. Thus 'in the social production of their life, men enter into definite, necessary relations which are independent of their will, relations of production which *correspond* to a definite stage of development of their material productive forces.'[163] Following the transfer of numerous villages to the Ācāryas, direct relationship is established between them as the owners of the conditions of production and the primary producers. It is this relationship naturally *corresponding* to a definite stage in the development of the methods of labour and thereby its social *productivity*, which reveals the *hidden basis and the essence of the entire social structure*, and with it the mechanism of social and economic control and the dependence of the peasant. Here the position appears clearly to be that within the tantric framework the relations of production hold primacy, reacting upon production 'as a determining element.' Social formation of the kind that took place in the age of the Śaivāgamas was dominated by a *single* mode of production over a long stretch of time (c. A.D. 400 to 900).

If our view is correct, the Marxist historian's central, working concept, mode of production, is, indeed, pivotal in as much as it 'is ultimately a mode of producing that not only transforms the world, but embodies in its process all the material and spiritual constituents of its social context.' 'The concrete analysis of precise and definite historical situations,' leads us to accept feudalism as an accurate categorisation of the society in the Tantric period when the instruments of control, though not necessarily political control, were in the hands of the Saivacarya-Samanta combine as noticed

above. Both mode of production and feudalism as analytical concepts focus our attention on investigating the conditions generating and determining particular production structures, and thus the generation of surplus, its content, forms and distribution. The Śaivācārya feudal lords, through their specific *maṭhikās* and the institution of *Bhairavajāti*, were able to extract the social surplus and perpetuate their hold on their *sādhaka* clientele, including the lay devotees, who were by and large the primary producers. Their societal organisation reveals the dominance of the tantric *gurus* and the unequal division of property. Theirs was a fairly cohesive dominant class siphoning off the agrarian surplus through the use of non-economic coercion. They appropriated the peasants' surplus in a variety of forms—rent (in labour, cash or kind) or revenue or in the form of servile labour. It is doubtful if the peasant enjoyed any freedom, legal or economic. The transfer of land by the *deśādhyakṣas*, *maṇḍaleśas*, etc to their patrons shows that the peasant had no legal freedom to alienate his proprietary right in land or implements,[164] no matter whether a developed land market had existed or not. His mobility, if any, seems to have been seriously compromised the way villages or plots of land exchanged hands between the Śaivācāryas and *deśādhyakṣas*, *maṇḍaleśas grāma-bhoktās*, etc. Even if it be conceded that, quite independently of his own social or juridical status, he earned his and his family's subsistence of his own material resources and labour, it made little difference to him when a major portion of his earnings was taken away by the lord who had superior rights in the land and to whom the peasant was expected to render a number of obligations as enumerated in the Āgamas. The ritualistic practices in the Śaivāgamas do not suggest that the peasant retains complete control over the process of production on his land or is assured of a certain level of subsistence. He is practically in no way better off than an 'unfree' peasant. True, his entire labour was not appropriated by the owners of the transferred villages or *kṣetras* but a part of it was exploited by the Śaivācāryas primarily for purposes of agricultural production. The dependence of the peasantry on the Śaivācāryas—a newly emerging class of feudal lords—was thus structured in the production process. The list of feudal obligations, as referred to above, enables us to understand the dynamism of feudal society and its development in the Śaivāgamas. The means of production had got redistributed in the age of the Śaivāgamas

and the grave political crises which arose in the subsequent eleventh and twelfth centuries were the effect and the cause of social upheavals rooted in the redistribution of the means of production and the emergence of new property forms.

NOTES

1. *TA*, V, 58-60.
2. *Supra*.
3. Quoted in *TA*, I, 69.
4. I.P. III, ii.
5. *Śat Br*, V. 2, 1.10.
6. *Ibid.*, XI, 2.7.30.
7. *Ibid.*, I, 1.1.22.
8. I.I. III.50.
9. *Mā Vi Ta*, I, 33. 36; Cf *TA*, IX, 167-168.
10. *Mā Vi Ta*, III, 31 ff.
11. *Ibid.*, III, 4-6.
12. *Ibid.*, IX, 34-39.
13. *Ibid.*, III, 12.
14. XVIII, 28 ff.
15. *TA*, I, Introduction; *RV*, I, 29, 45.164.
16. X. 125. 1-8.
17. Quoted in *TA*, V, 70.
18. *Mā Vi Ta*, III, 5.
19. *TA*, I, 1 ff.
20. *Parātriśikā*, pp. 46-48, 307-08.
21. *Parātriśikā*, *passim*.
22. *Mā Vi Ta*, III, 24-27.
23. *ŚD*, p. 18, II.
24. *Ibid.*, p. 17, vv. 19-21.
25. *Ibid.*, p. 88, v. 22.
26. *Ibid*.
27. *ŚD*, p. 22.
28. *Ibid.*, *Mā Vi Ta*, III. 5.
29. *Ibid.*, pp. 23-25.
30. *Ibid.*, p. 25.
31. *ŚD*, I, *passim TA*, III vv. 230-231.
32. *Svacchanda*, XI, 268 ff; Rg X, 90-2.
33. *Mā Vi Ta*, XIII, 63, 66, etc.

34. *Ibid.*, 66.
35. *Ibid.*, 96.
36. *Ibid.*
37. *Svacchanda*, XI, 115 ff.
38. *ŚD*, VII, 121-122.
39. *Mā Vi Ta*, XIX, 21.
40. *Daśāvatāracarita*, f. 162.
41. *Supra*.
42. *The Mothers*, London 1952, Vol II, p. 251.
43. *Mā Vi Ta*, II, 32-35.
44. *Svacchanda*, XIII ff.
45. *TA*, III, p. 452.
46. *NT*, XIX, 156 ff.
47. *Svacchanda*, XIII, 186 ff.
48. *TA*, *VI*, 57-59, ff. 50-51.
49. *ŚS*, II.5.
50. *Devī-rahasya*, XX III, VV.9 ff.
51. *VBH*, 71-72.
52. *Ibid.*, 69-73.
53. *Svacchanda*, X, 391-392 *loc cit*.
54. *TA*, I, p. 51; III, p. 16.
55. *Ibid.*
56. *Devī-rahasya*, Paṭala 59, VV. 8-13.
57. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 59. vv. 4-7.
58. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 58 v. 25.
59. *Ibid.*, Paṭala 59, 8 ff.
60. *Ibid.*
61. *PTV*, f. 92.
62. *Pranatosani* vii, 4 Vasumati ed., p. 532.
    Kaulamarga-rahasya, ed. S.C. Vidyabhusana, Sahitya Parisat Granthavali, No. 76, p. 11.
63. *Tarakhanda*, I. 92-94.
64. *Pranatosani*, III. 1, p. 149-499.
65. *Research MSS Lib.*, MS No. 884, Paṭala IV secṭion I, Part I.
66. *Mā Vi Ta*, XIX, 5 ff.
67. *Research MSS Lib.*, MS No. 884, folios, 1, 2.
68. *akulasyasya devasva Kulaprathanasalini*, III, 67.
69. MS No. 884, Patala IV, foliọs 3a, 3b.
70. See Kaulacara.
71. *Mahānirvāṇatantra*, XIV, 184, 187.

72. *aho punyatamah kaulah punvapyanya vivarjita* ye *punantyatm-asambandhat mleccha-svapaca-pamarah TA.*
73. *Gandharva-tantra*, XXXIV, 9.
74. *Śivopādhyāya; Kulapuja pratisthanat kulamargascha rata ve (Jatisamgraha* see *Kula-pūjā*).
75. *Gandharva-tantra*, XXXVII, 33-34.
76. *Devī-rahasya*, Paṭala XXXII, pp. 167-169 XXIII, 4 ff. XXVI.
77. *Ibid.*
78. *NT*, XVI, 1-3.
79. *Svacchanda*, Patala VI. 1 ff.
80. *Ibid.*, 58 ff.
81. *TA*, IV, pp. 292-294, comm.
82. Quoted in *TA*, II, pp. 19 ff comm.
83. *TA*, II, 38-39.
84. *Ibid.*, 46.
85. *Ibid.*, 24 ff.
86. Quoted in *TA*, I, 170 p. 203 II, 1 ff; *Ma Vi Ta*, XVIII.
87. *Ibid.*, II, 41.
88. *ŚS*, I, 22.
89. *VB*, 101-103.
90. *Ibid.*, 103.
91. *VB*, 102.
92. *Ibid.*, and comm.
93. *Ibid.*, 107 and comm.
94. *Ibid.*, 100 and comm.
95. *Ibid.*, 105 and comm.
96. *IPV*, L 1-5.
97. *TA*, I, 242 comm.
98. *ŚS*, intr to II, 1.
99. *Ibid.*, II, 2.
100. *Mā Vi Ta*, II, 22.
101. *VB*, 116; see also *Spandakārikā*, II. 3-5.
102. *Ibid.*, 123-124.
103. *VB*, 109-110.
104. *TA*, V, p. 425 *loc cit.*
105. *ŚS*, III, *passim*; *Mā Vi Ta*, II, 21.
106. *VB*, 68-69.
107. *Ibid.*, 69-73.
108. *Ibid.*, 109-110.
109. X, 240-242.

110. *Svacchanda,* 242 ff.
111. *Ibid.*, I, 151 ff.
112. *Supra.*
113. *Svacchanda,* Vol I, pp. 98-100.
114. *Parātriśikā.*
115. *TA*, IV, f. 9.
116. *VB*, 100.
117. *S*, IV.
118. *Mahānirvāṇtantram*, XIV, 184-187 see also *Meru-tantra.*
119. *Ibid.*
120. *Pranatosani*, VII 4, p. 531.
121. *Nityotsava*, GOS Vol XXIII, pp. 6-7.
122. X, 391-392.
123. *Ibid.*
124. *Mā Vi Ta,* I, 697.
125. *TA*, VIII, p. 36, VV 42-43.
126. X, 81-90, 31 ff.
127. *Ibid.*, 53-71; *TA*, VIII, 28-29.
128. *Svacchanda*, 61-74, *TA*, pp. 29-31.
129. *Ibid.*, 259-267.
130. *Ibid.*
131. *Ibid.*, 61-66, *TA* VIII, 159-61.
132. *NT*, 23 ff.
133. *VB*, 157-161.
134. *Svacchanda*, Vol II, 535-536.
135. *The Gift* (London, 1954) pp. 45 ff, 53 ff, 71 ff.
136. *Svacchanda,* XII, 61-62.
137. Politics of the Kula Ring, J.P.S. Uberoi, Manchester, 1962.
138. *Svacchanda*, Vol. II, pp. 326-327.
139. *Ibid.*, V. 540.
140. *Svacchanda*, 541.
141. *Ibid.*
142. *Introduction to the Study of Indian History*, (Bombay, 1956), pp. 275 ff.
143. *RT*, Books IV to VII *passim.*
144. *Svacchanda*, Paṭala IV, 530-537; *Supra*, p. 191.
145. *Ibid.*, 501.
146. *Ibid.*, Paṭala XII, 61-62.
147. *Ibid.*, Paṭala IV, 537 ff.
148. *Ibid.*, Paṭala XII, 61.

149. *Ibid*.
150. *Ibid*., Paṭala IV, 536-37.
151. *Ibid*.
152. *Ibid*., 535-36.
153. VIII, 2941.
154. Marc and Engels, *Pre-capitalist Socio-Economic Formations*, Moscow, 1979, p. 22.
155. *Ibid*., *op cit*, p. 23.
156. Mukhia, 'Was there Feudalism in Indian History?' The Journal of Peasant Studies, 8 (3) April 1981, pp. 273-310.
157. *Ibid*., *op. cit*., pp. 292-293.
158. Karl Marx, *Pre-capitalist Economic Formations*, London, 1964, p. 42.
159. Sharma, *Indian Feudalism*, 2nd ed., Delhi, 1980.
160. Perkin, Frank, 1985. 'State Formation Reconsidered.' *Modern Asian Studies* 1983, 'Proto Industrialization and Pre-colonial South Asia, Past and Present, No. 98, pp. 30-95.
161. Mukhia, *op. cit*., Vol 8, No. 3.
162. Hindess, Barry and Paul O. Hurst, 1975, *Pre-capitalist Modes of Production*, London, *op cit*., p. 9.
163. *Ibid*., p. 12.
164. Marx, Karl and Friedrich Engles, 1971, *Historical Materialism*, London, p. 5.

8

Regional Distribution

The entry of foreign tribes into India during the early centuries of the Christian era had a favourable impact on the cult of Śaivite divinities. As early as A.D. 45 the copper coins of Kajula Kara-Kadphises I (found in Bandipur) shows that he was devoted to Śaivism. The image of the bull on the reverse and a double-humped Persian camel on the obverse suggest that it is the precursor of an image of Śiva. The gold coins of Vema-Kadphises ascribed to a period between c. A.D. 80-100 have the figure of the standing Śiva, holding a trident in his right hand, with the legend Maheśvara.[1] In one of his coins Nandī is shown standing by his side; in another coin, besides the trident, Śiva holds a waterpot (*Kamaṇḍala*) and the tiger-skin in his hand. In both of these coins we have the figure of the two armed Śiva. This agrees with the description of Śiva in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The copper coins of the same king also bear the image of Śiva.[2] The copper coins of Kaniṣka have the figure of the four-armed Śiva with a halo round his head, holding a trident, a kind of drum (*damru*), water-pot, a string (*pāśa*) in his four hands.[3] The Greek legend *Chpo* on his coins is rendered as *Īśa* in Sanskrit. In some other coins of Kaniska we have the deer standing close to Śiva[4] which reminds us of a Harappan seal which suggests the worship of Paśupati. Other coins of Kaniska have the figure of the two-armed Śiva, holding a trident in one hand and a water-pot in another.[5] The coins of his successor, Huviṣka (A.D. 90) have the figure of the two-armed or four-armed Śiva.[6] The same Greek legend and the same emblems with Śiva placing his hands on the horns of the deer point to the same god and Paśupati.[7] His coins

have Śiva decorated with the moon.[8] Another coin of Huviṣka shows Śiva armed with a bow and his face turned towards the right which seems to suggest that he is *Pinākī* Śiva.[9] Another coin of Huviṣka represents Śiva as Trimūrti.[10] A deity holding a discus in one of the hands and an *Ūrdhvaliṅga* in another is represented on a gold coin of Huviṣka. It is suggested that it is the precursor of an image of the composite god Hari-Hara.[11] A seal-matrix, showing a figure standing with folded hands before a four-armed deity, bears the names of Mihira, Viṣṇu and Śiva in Tocharian script.[12] Cunningham identifies the devotee with Huviṣka on account of his head-dress and garments whereas, according to another suggestion, it represents a Hepthalite Huṇa chief.[13] The coins of Huviṣka's successor, Vāsudeva's coin too bears the figure of a two-armed Śiva and on another coin of the same ruler—we have a lion-seated goddess.[14] After Vasudeva we have the coins of Kanesko (A.D. 180). Here also we have the two-armed Śiva.[15] Kanesko's other coins have a Greek legend up Δ × *pq*.[16]

The patronage of the Greek rulers and the Kuṣāṇa monarch, the adoption of a syncretistic, tolerant attitude made Śaivism very popular in north-western India and Central Asia. The reason of the unprecedented popularity of Śaivism lies in the fact that its tantric base could best realise the requirements of the age.[17] In preaching universal consciousness and the concept of individual freedom Śaivism was in tune with the social outlook of the times, when the kings considered themselves to be subsisting on the feet of their goddess, the Śakti of the Śaivas. The kings seem to have strengthened their power of upholding the popular beliefs and conforming to the principles and ideas of kingship imposed upon them by a brāhmaṇical society. Thus the mother-worship acted as a powerful lever for reconciling the masses to those social divisions which were based on the self-sufficient agricultural economy of villages. Even the degenerate Kuṣāṇa type of coinage during the twelfth century shows the figure of the goddess Lakṣmī and the king worshipping at the altar.

If we go back to the coinage of the Indo-Scythian rulers, we find the king standing and the goddess seated. Such a coin-type of Kashmir may be said to have remained unaltered for upwards of twelve centuries.[18] Among the earlier coins, the copper coins (*dīnnārāḥ*) bearing the name of Toramāṇa in characters of the Gupta period are found to this day in good quantities all over

Kashmir and the neighbouring regions.[19] One of the best-executed coins of Toramāna shows the figure of the standing king, wearing short trousers. To the left of the figure is the legend Śrītoramāṇa in Brāhmī characters of about the fifth century. The reverse has the figure of the seated goddess with the letter Kidara written perpendicularly to the left. The coins of Pravarasena II and those of later Kārkoṭas have the same peculiar arrangement of letters on them. They seem to have been copied from the coins of the later Kuṣāṇa rulers of Gandhāra. These coins usually bear the name of the founder of the kingdom of the 'little Yuetchi' called *Ki-te-lo*, in the Chinese annals.[20] This would suggest that these coins with Kuṣāṇa mint-mark were probably minted somewhere in Gandhāra and put into circulation in Kabul, Kashmir, etc. Mihirākula who succeeded his father in c. A.D. 515 in the rule of the territories conquered by the White Huns from Kabul to Central India was defeated by Bālāditya of Magadha and forced to retire to Kashmir in A.D. 530. Kalhaṇa's reference to the favours shown to brāhmaṇas and their worship,[21] is in full accord with the evidence of his coins which bear the emblems of the bull and trident and have the legend *Jayatu vṛṣa jayatu vṛṣadhvaja*. This displays a distinct leaning towards Śaivism. The successors in the line of Mihirākula, like Gokarṇa, Narendrāditya I, etc whose coins are available were all Śaivites. They consecrated shrines to Śiva Bhuteśvara and provided perpetual endowments (*akṣyiṇī*) to brāhmaṇas.[22] Curiously, Toramānas' coins were in circulation even upto the time of Sultan Hassan Shah (A.D. 1472-84) who is said to have circulated a new coin called *Dvidinnāri*, made of lead.[23] The popularity of Śaivism even during the reign of Avantivarman (A.D. 855-883) is borne out by the fact of the ruler's munificence towards Śaiva shrines and his secret devotion to Vaiṣṇavism. The tendency of syncretism was so strong that it is difficult to believe Avantivarman disregarding the wishes and feelings of his ministers and making Avantipur the stronghold of the Vaiṣṇava faith only to the exclusion of other faiths. This leaves little doubt that Śaivism was in as good a flourishing condition as Vaiṣṇavism which enjoyed royal patronage and Avantipur and its adjoining areas contributed equally to the growth of Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism.

The popularity of both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism is shown by the fact that even Harṣa, who started a vigorous campaign of spoliation of temples, spared some of the most popular Visṇu and Śiva shrines

for fear of an uprising. The Viṣṇu shrines of *Bhīmakeśava*, however, suffered spoliation on account of the internecine quarrel among the members of the *purohita* corporation.[24] The temples of villages and towns were despoiled of their images and the husbandmen were oppressed.[25] Though Kalhaṇa has accused him of Turuṣka leanings, it is clear that temples as land magnates had deprived him of the revenue due to the state from the peasants who were made to part with their social surplus to warring *purohita* corporations. The attempt of the king to appropriate that surplus caused additional misery to them as they were to bear the burden of both the landed magnates[26] and an ever increasing army. The appointment of a prefect of night soil[27] shows the anxiety of the king to control all agricultural operation from manure to the assessment of land-revenue. The period of Harṣa seems to have intensified the conflict arising out of the *purohita* control over Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva shrines and their land endowments and the frantic efforts made by the king not only to dispossess the landed beneficiaries but also to acquire the accumulated surplus in all such temples. It seems as if the entire valley had passed under the control of these temple corporations, leaving very little for the royal treasury by way of taxation and maintenance of the army on which depend the authority and control of the state.

The coin-type of Kashmir maintained the same uniformity of a standing king and the sitting goddess down to the period of the Sultans.[28] We also notice a great constancy in the matter of metal and weight. We have a long and uniform series of coins down to the end of the twelfth century. Copper coins range in weights from 85 to 95 grains each. General Cunningham was able to find copper coins with an average weight of 91 grains.[29] The issues of Śaṃkaravarman, Kṣemagupta, Didda and her successors are still extremely common in different parts of the valley and carry the same symbols as we notice in the Indo-Scythian kings. The seated goddess Ardoksho is represented here as the earth-goddess with a cornucopiae in her left hand and a royal fillet or diadem in her right hand. The cornucopiae on the coins of Toramāṇa and his son Pravarasena is replaced by the lotus and on later coins the arms of the seated goddess are gradually displaced by the letters of the legend. The left arm of the goddess is omitted on the coins of Śaṃkaravarman and Gopālāvarman; on later coins the honorific Śrī preceding the names of the kings displaces her right arm, the

figure of the goddess and the honorific Śrī shows clear tendencies of tāntric influence on these coins. The honorific Śrī so frequently used in these coins suggests how the *Śrīcakara yantra* idea was conveyed through them. From the time of Śaṃkaravarman and onwards the seated goddess is shown on the obverse and the standing king on the reverse. On the earlier coins the legend *Śrī-Toramāṇa* appears in Brāhmī character of about the fifth or sixth century and in later issues we have the Śāradā characters. Pravarasena II's gold and silver coins, showing the goddess seated on a lion, lotus in left hand, the standing king, sceptre with crescent-head in right hand, trident above the extended left hand[30]—all suggest the clear influence of tāntric ideas on the coins of Kashmir.

These coins show that during the first three centuries of the Christian era Śaivism had spread and become very popular all over Northern India. No definite change had taken place in the form of Śiva since the days of the *Rāmāyaṇa* and *Mahābhārata*. The order of the succession of Turuṣka rulers, according to Kalhaṇa, is Huviṣka, Juṣka (Vāsudeva) and Kaniṣka. It seems that Kalhaṇa had heard of these rulers who were the patrons of the Buddhists and Śaivites but in whose reigns he was not much interested.[31] From the foregoing account it is clear that till recently Śrīnagar and Pravarasenapura were the main strongholds of Śaivism and Tāntrism. The legends and emblems of the Huna King Mihirakula's (c. A.D. 515-530) coins display his leanings towards Śaivism and he has been credited with having established a sanctuary dedicated to Śiva called Mihireśvara at Śrīnagar and founded Holada (the Vular pargana of Maraz). The Hepthalite king Mihirkula also founded the famous temple of Vijayeśvara (Vijabror) in the sixth century.[32] Purāṇādiṣṭhāna witnessed considerable building activity during the reign of Pravarasena I, (c. A.D. 550) the son of Meghavāhana of the restored Gonandīya dynasty who was brought from Gandhāra. His grandson Pravarasena II, transferred the capital to the site of the modern Śrīnagar (c. A.D. 575) whereupon Purānādhiṣṭhāna lost the glory of the premier city for ever. Kashmir maintained a remarkable uniformity in the workmanship of coins. We have the figure of a standing king on the obverse and the seated goddess on the reverse, this type having originated with the Kuṣāṇas. Such a coin type was adopted by the Gupta kings. From the Kārkoṭas down to the rulers of Utpala dynasty, we have a regular and unbroken series of Kashmiri coins of the same type mentioned

above. Though most of the coins of Kashmir are of copper, the finds of a few specimens of both gold and silver show that coins were minted in these metals as well, bearing the same legend and emblems as noticed in the copper coins. It is interesting to note that the Banda hoard and the Rajghat hoard[33] of coins found in Uttar Pradesh bear out that the Kārkoṭas held sway over eastern Uttar-Pradesh. It is likely that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were also popular in this region. The figure of the seated goddess and the standing king holding a trident show that Śaivism with strong tantric leanings was still popular in Kashmir down to the time of Jagadeva (A.D. 1193-1213). This would suggest that folk cults, popular beliefs, and tantric practices enjoyed a good following. The kings exhibited a liberal attitude towards all religions and maintained the symbols of divinities like the mother-goddess and Śivabhūteśa on their coins. The cult of Śrī, the fertility goddess was the most popular and her recognition as the wife of Viṣṇu may have accounted for the representation of the seated goddess on the coins of the rulers of Kashmir. Although the issues of the Kuṣāṇa type of coins may have been inclined to identify themselves with the deities represented on their coins, the evidence possibly indicates their more intimate relationship with the deity. It is likely that most of the tribal groups and their popular divinities have influenced the rulers of Kashmir. The image of the mother goddess and the representation of Śiva influenced later rulers also. The coins of Kashmir make it very clear that there was little sectarian rivalry between the followers of Viṣṇu and Śiva. It seems that there was no basic conflict in the various sects of brāhmaṇism for the social basis of these cults remained the same brāhmaṇical authority and *varṇa* rules. The coins clearly indicate how the rulers showed reverence to the deities of the brāhmaṇical pantheon. The numismatic evidence would show the regional extent of Śaivism and tantrism from the time of Toramāṇa down to the end of the twelfth century. It is evident that the influence of Śaivism and tantrism extended to the whole valley, including those portions of Gandhāra which now and then passed under the control of the rulers of Kashmir. The legends and the emblems of the coins indicate that these were issued both in the name of the divine and the temporal head. There is no doubt that the coin legends were predominantly Śaivite in character and the influence of tantrism extended to all the parts of the valley where apparently the worship of the mother goddess

was observed both in the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults. The pieces of evidence suggest that the worship of Vishṇu and Śiva was popular and the two may have been combined in the tantric form of worship.

The Progress of Tantrism in the Gupta/post-Gupta Period

Although epigraphic evidence is totally lacking, the iconographical findings of the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. supplement our knowledge about tantrism to some extent.

Śrīnagarī and its environs appear to have been a principal seat of tantrism during the rule of Gonandīya, Kārkoṭa and post-Kārkoṭa periods. A good number of icons and sculptural representation dealing with *Saptamātṛkās* and Śiva, datable in the Gupta and post-Gupta period have been excavated and are still discovered in Pandrenthan and its vicinity. A piece of sculpture in granite depicts Kaṅkālī[34] as a six-armed deity. The image wears a terrific look with its round eye-balls and a sunken belly, its *mukuta* is studded with human skulls. The weapons are not clearly visible but a *vanamālā* adorning her is prominent. The image holds a human victim in a skull (*kapāla*) in the lower left hand. She is chewing his intestines well before swallowing them. The victim's pierced belly is open. She holds a *rākṣasa* in the upper left hand, and a human skull by the upper right hand. The six-handed stone statue shows that the image occupied a prominent place in the shrine of some principal deity, most probably Mātṛkābhairava. This is possibly the earliest sculpture depicting the ferocious nature of one of the *aṣṭamātṛkās* and has been assigned to the eighth century A.D. by Dayaram Sahni. But the relief indicates that it belongs to the second half of the fifth century. On grounds of style it cannot be later than the sixth century A.D. or the end of the fifth century.

Another colossal figure in granite showing the six-armed Cāmuṇḍā holding her victims was discovered in the same area, and is now preserved in the S.P.S. Museum.[35] Unlike the stone image of Kañkālī with some broken parts of the statue[36] and weapons of the deity, the Cāmuṇḍā statue is complete and shows all the weapons. The most ferocious face, the dreadful headgear and the nude bust of the *mātṛkā* show how she is engaged in holding and tearing off her victims to pieces. The image holds a skull. The goddess in the upper right hand holds a *kapāla* with a lump of flesh in it, while the left hand is let loose. She wears a long garland of skulls, and may

be dated back to the late Gupta period. The worship of the deity who was by now fully absorbed in the tantric rituals, appears to have been very popular in Pandrenthan and the neighbouring regions, and several extant statues of this style were carved out during this period.[37] The image represents the *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa* theme. Turning to the left, she assumes a fearful aspect and is shown killing Caṇda and Muṇḍa. The slaying of Rakhtabīja who is said to have engaged all the seven mothers in battle suggests how the Śakti aspect of Bhairava was regarded as the key to the social problem of removing evil and ferocity of those who were being gradually assimilated in brāhmaṇical culture. The iconographic representation of the slaying of Rākṣasas is thus .very significant. Cāmuṇḍa's crown is studded with skulls; she is not shown with an emaciated body as she has been in many of the Purāṇas.

It appears that the tribal people in their sacrificial feasts offered human sacrifices to *devīcakra* (the circle of the goddess)[38] and the same practice seems to have been adopted later on by brāhmaṇas to subjugate some of the ferocious forest tribes.

During the Gupta and post-Gupta period the majority of the tantrics, whether in the north or in the south of the valley were influenced by *mātṛkā* worship. The excavations conducted by D.R. Sahni show that the temple in Pandṛenthan was of *aṣṭāyatana* type, seven small shrines of the mother-goddess standing at different corners of the main temple of Bhuteśa.[39] It furnishes a specific example of a temple of this type the origins of which go back to the early part of the third century B.C.[40] Land-grants of substantial size were made to these temples, donating whole villages and the land of Trigarta.[41] An image of Vārāhī with four arms is ascribed by Sahni to the ninth century A.D. though on grounds of style, this statue also seems to belong to the early fifth century A.D. Vārāhī holds a conch (*śaṅkha*) in her left hand, a mace (*gadā*) in another left hand, a rosary in the right hand and is carved with a *garuḍa* as her vehicle.[42] She is one of the Śaktis of Viṣṇu who was assimilated in the *mātṛcakra* worship. She may have been a mother-goddess of the non-Vedic people. It is probable that this mother-goddess was the most prominent deity of some powerful non-Aryan tribe undergoing brāhmaṇisation in the first century of the Christian era. She was closely connected with fertility and her worship as one of the Śaktis of Viṣṇu may have been a preliminary ritual prior to the actual agricultural operations. Iconographical representations

often depict her with a boar-face and treading on the coils of the serpent Śeṣa. This reveals the close association of the two divinities due to their agricultural character. Greece and Kashmir may have shared a common ritual of the fertility goddess worship of Demeter[43] and Vārāhī. This is indicated by the widespread worship of the Varāha and Vārāhī upto the last stage of the Vitasta in Baramulla (*Varaha kṣetra*) along the river-bank. This seems to have been in accord with the belief that Śiva's Śaktis are reflected not with the *Śakti-tattva* first but with the *Prithvi-tattva.*

Another sculpture, depicting Gupta influence discovered at Pandrenthan and datable to the fifth-sixth century is that of Vaiṣṇavī. The icon is made of granite and holds all the four *āyudhas*, a mace (*gadā*), a conch (*śankha*), a discus (*cakra*), a lotus (*padma*) in her four hands. She is seated on the vehicle Garuḍa. She wears a *vanamālā*, ear-ornaments and a double-necklace. The lower garment (drapery) is tied round the waist, the upper portion being semi-nude. It is a beautiful image representing Viṣṇu's *Śakti* and belongs to the *mātṛ-parivāra* or *devī-parivāra*. The Vaiṣṇavas may have dedicated such images of Visnu to their religious establishments, which seem to have formed a part of other mother goddesses in the *mātṛkā-cakra*. As the attributes undoubtedly prove, it belongs to the common *parivāra* of the *mātṛkās*.

A four-armed stone statue, with only three extant arms of the fifth-sixth century has been discovered at Pandrenthan in Srinagar. The image holds a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in her extant left hand, a lotus in her upper right hand, a rosary in her lower right hand. She wears a crown, a double necklace, bracelets and armlets. The upper part of the body is dressed in tunic, the lower one being covered by drapery. The sculptural representation of Indrāṇī,[44] riding the vehicle elephant makes it clear that this Śakti of Indra or mother-goddess was included in the *Parivāra* of *mātṛkā-cakra*. In fact, it was the popularity of Śaktism which led the Śaivas to incorporate all the *Śaktis* in the one fundamental concept of Śiva-Śakti. From the icons discussed above, it appears that a type of Greek costume covered a portion of the body. Another characteristic fashion on these icons is that the deities are semi-nude. Curiously this seems to combine the characteristic fashion of the Gandhāra style where the women are almost nude.[45]

Mother-goddesses with four or more arms are well known from the Pāndrenthan region. The icon of Indrāṇī[46] is made of light

grey granite and holds a thunderbolt (*vajra*) in one of her extant left hands, a lotus in her upper right hand and a rosary in her lower-right hand. She rides the vehicle elephant, wears a crown, double necklace, bracelets and armlets. The upper portion of the image is covered by a tunic and the lower one is draped. The drapery of most of these goddesses display Hellenistic influence as found in Gandhāra.[47] These images seem to be earlier to date, not later than sixth-fifth century.

The Śaiva temple on the Gopādrī hills has been ascribed to the second century of the Christian era by General Cunningham.[48] Close to it on the right side stands the shrine of Jyeṣṭheśvarī datable to the fifth century. She is the goddess of obstructions and is regarded as blind of one eye. She appears to have been one of the Śaktis that suppressed the evil forces overcoming the righteous ones in their objective of brāhmaṇising the non-Vedic people.

Maheśānī[49] is the consort of Maheśa. This image has been discovered in Gupkar (Pandrenthan) and is placed in the early Gupta period. She holds a lotus in her right hand while the left one is placed on the hip.

The mother goddess in the form of Maheśvarī was worshipped by the non-Vedic people through bloody sacrifices. Animals were sacrificed and probably wine was offered to her as a stimulant at the time of slaying Mahiśāsura.[50]

Debala Mitra's identification of the *mātṛkās* as Kaumārī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrānī, Vārāhī, Cāmuṇḍā[51] is partially correct. They are in fact Māheśvarī, Vaiṣṇavī, Indrāṇī, Vārāhī and Cāmuṇḍā. The first four are four-armed whereas Camunda is six-armed and terrible-looking.

The discovery of five *mātṛkā* sculptures in and around Pandrenthan illustrates the popularity of the *mātṛkācakra* and many of these have been found in the whole region enroute from Pandrenthan to Gupkar. Of the seven *mātṛkās* (*saptamātṛkā*) only five are represented. Apparently the two mother goddesses Brahmāṇī and Kaumārī did not become popular in the area where several other *mātṛkās* have been located. It shows that five and not seven *mātṛkās* had several shrines. The earliest icons of Vaiṣṇavī, Cāmuṇḍā, Māheśvarī, Indrāṇī, Vārāhī, assigned to the Gupta and post-Gupta period suggest that both Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism were in a flourishing condition. It seems that these five mother-goddesses correspond to the five *śaktis* of Śiva, Kumārī being

included in his *Icchā-Śakti*[52] and Brahmāṇī in the very *Svātantrya Śakti* (absolute power) of Parma Śiva. On the basis of this hypothesis five *mātṛkās* appear to be the five faces of Śiva. Umāpatinātha (the Śiva of the Purāṇas) in the form of Svacchandanātha propagated the Śaivāgamas through his five *mouths:* the five Upadeśakas of the southern school of Śaivism, Īśāna—Tatpuruṣa, Vāmadeva, Sadyojāta and Aghora—are the embodiments of these five Śaktis.[53] Five therefore seems to have a special significance in the Āgamas.

The worship of the mothers or the Śaktis occupied an important place in the tantra ritual and we have many such references to *Mātṛcakras* in the *Rājataraṅgiṇī*.[54] Divasar Pargana (Anantnag) was another important site of *mātṛkā* worship. An icon of soap-stone, measuring $2\frac{1}{2}$"× 2", is perhaps the smallest panel of *mātṛkās*, assignable to the end of the eighth century.[55] Śiva is seated as Vīrabhadra.

In Śrīnagarī Śaivism appears to have been very popular. A stone image of Māheśamūrti depicts the right face of Aghora, which is very ferocious. It wears a crown studded with skulls. The central one is that of Tatpurusa, wearing matted hair; the left one is that of Umā, wearing crown. The icon was discovered at Pandrenthan and may be assigned to the Gupta period. Another image of approximately the same date of Śiva in *yogāsana* and wearing a *yogapaṭṭa* was obtained from the same site. The four-armed Śiva holds a rosary in the right hand, another hand being in *abhayamudrā*. In one of his left hands, he holds a trident and a pot of ambrosia (*amṛitaghaṭa*) in another. The three-headed image wears a *jaṭāmukuṭa*, a necklace, a snake instead of brāhmaṇical thread; Gaṅgā is depicted as a swimming female above his head. A four-armed image discovered at the same site and placed in the sixth century is that of Pinaka Śiva who is depicted as holding a bow in his left hand and an arrow in the right one. The upraised staff of the trident is in another right hand, one of the left hands is shown holding some fruit. He wears a *vaṇamālā* , a coat of mail, ear ornaments and a necklace. He wears matted hair and the forehead is marked with a crescent. Another image from the same locality is the single-headed standing Śiva, shown with four arms. In one of his right hands he holds a sword and in another one *khaṭvāṅga*, a trident and a fruit in his left hands. He wears a snake, and matted hair. The Maheśamūrtis, one from Pandrenthan[56] and the other from

Gopkar, reveal certain similarities. Though all the three faces of the Maheśamūrti from Pandrenthan, ascribed to the seventh century, are mutilated, it is obvious that one of these is that of Tatpuruṣa, wearing *jaṭāmukuṭa*, the right one is that of Aghora wearing a skull-crown and the left one of Vāmadeva is fully mutilated, with no details left. The other one from Gopkar is in good condition. The central head has bulging eyes and the face is marked by a serene look and innocent smile. The Aghora face depicts a wide, gaping mouth with prominent tusks. The rising flames of fire (*Agni*) and the *āyudhas* like the trident are shown in deep relief. It seems that the city of Srinagar must have at one time, probably during the sixth to eleventh centuries, been the stronghold of Śaivism and the tantric form of worship must have covered the entire area of both the cities of Pravarasena and Aśoka.

The excavations carried out at Fategarh, some six miles to the west of Baramulla, in 1918-19 exposed to view the main entrance to a Śaiva temple and great blocks of stone measuring from 8 to 27 feet. The entrance led to a *cellar* which, when cleared, disclosed a large *liṅga* lying obliquely on one side. The plan of the shrine is slightly different from the rest of the other Hindu temples. It shows a single plinth and a single flight of steps while other temples generally have double ones.[57] This disproves the contention of Brown that the conception of a brāhmaṇical temple must have taken its character and arrangement from the stupa courts of Buddhist monastery of Gandhāra;[58] it is clear that Kashmir had its indigenous tradition of art and architecture which combined with the Gandhāra school of art. It was not just a poor imitation of it. The second century A.D. Ṭiṭhādevī temple shows that the Kashmiri stone-masons too had certain original ideas.[59]

Of the twenty large brāhmaṇical images in the S.P.S. Museum, eight represent Śiva, both standing and seated.[60] The three well preserved icons of Mahādeva display certain peculiar features. They are three-headed, one of the two side-faces being fierce-looking (Bhairava) and the other female (Umāvaktra). Such types of images of Mahādeva when fashioned in the round present usually four heads and when in relief three-heads as in the present images. The existing temple of Pandrenthan is made of ashlar stone masonry and is definitely Śaiva in religious affiliation. The figure above the lintel of the main door is that of Lakulīśa, the deified Pasupata teacher. He is seated cross-legged and wears a *dhotī* and

upavīta (sacred thread). His right hand is in *abhaya mudrā* and against the left arm is a damaged *lakuṭa* (staff). The large number of icons recovered from Pandrenthan (Gopkar) indicate that during the sixth-fifth century it must have been the main stronghold of many Śaiva cults—Pāśupatas, Kāpālikas, Tāntrics, etc.

The placing of the *mātṛcakras* near the watch-stations indicates that originally these mystical diagrams were carved in stone and may have been worshipped in each household as a *kuladevī* by the non-Vedic people. The whole region from Divasar below the Pir Pantsal pass down to the Draṅg (watch-station) at Śirī in Baramulla alongwith the natural *cakras* of this kind on the Śārikāparvata in Srinagar and the *Jvālāmukhī cakra* on the rocky hill above Wyan points to the wide-spread worship of these goddesses in the valley and forest-belts. *Mātṛcakras* were constructed by kings, queens, *ācāryas*, etc.[61] These stood close to the shrine of a Bhairava.[62] The city of Śrīnagarī seems to have got its name because of the worship of Śrīcakra, though both tradition and historical events ascribe its foundation to Aśoka, the Buddhist king of the Mauryan Empire.[63] If the tradition current in the days of Kalhaṇa (A.D. 1148-1151) be taken as correct, it seems that not only the city of Śrīnagarī but the enclosure of Vijayeśvara alongwith two temples were constructed by him and he appears to have frequented the pilgrimage of Śiva Bhūteśa near the sacred sites of Haramukuṭa in Wangat.[64] All this piece of evidence shows that the non-Vedic people worshipped their mother-goddesses both in Marāz and Kamrāj, the two main sub-divisions of Kashmir. The inroads of Mlecchas (Greeks) seem to have gained in intensity due to which Aśoka may have dedicated his son Jalauka to Śaiva faith.[65] The crowds of Bauddha controversialists and the worshippers of Śiva *Vijayeśvara* and Śiva Bhūteśa suggests that this must have been a period of crisis in which the *varṇāśrama dharma* was threatened.[66] As the worship of Bhairava is connected with bloody sacrifices, the Bauddhas must not have taken favourably to the worship of the mother-goddesses whose shrines stood close to those of the Bhairavas.

In the Lolab valley, we find seven niches in one of the ruined shrines at Kalaroos.[67] Two of these were devoted to Vīrabhadra and Gaṇeśa who are flanked by five *mātṛkās*, which again shows that all the seven *mātṛkās* were not worshipped, not even in the *mātṛcakras*. This would suggest that Kashmir did not go beyond worshipping the five mother-goddesses, which, as stated earlier,

correspond to the five main śaktis of Śiva. The association of Gaṇeśa with *mātṛcakra* may be explained by the desire of the devotee to pray for peace and prosperity. Even the followers of Mahāyāna seem to have worshipped him to ensure *siddhi*.

Recently, a few granite sculptures attributed to the Gupta period have been discovered at Fategarh in the Baramulla district. These depict Śiva in various forms, standing in Hari-Hara form and also with the figure of Īśāna at the top of Śiva *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. A four-armed image of Śiva with two *āyudhas* in anthropomorphic form is shown standing against Nandī at Fategarh and may by ascribed to the fifth century. The Sadāśiva form image carved on a single block of granite is deposited in a shed. The central head of the five-headed tantric image of Śiva is that of Tatpuruṣa (one of the five aspects of Śiva), the left one that of Umāvaktra (Vāmā or Vāmeśvarī), the right one that of Aghora and the back one that of Sayājaṭā (Sadyojāta or Nandivaktra). We have the figure of Kāla Bhairava shown seated on a snake on the Sayājaṭā head and the figure of Īśāna on the Tatpuruṣa head, both seated on the *jaṭā-mukuṭa* of Śiva.[68]

The image personifies the five śaktis of Parama Śiva: *Cit nirvṛti (ananda), Icchā, Jñāna* and *Kriyā*. To manifest these five śaktis for extending grace to human beings, Umāpatinātha incarnates himself in the form of five-headed Svacchandanātha to act as the teacher of Śiva Śāstra. May be that *jñāna* aspect of Sadāśiva has been highlighted. The other aspects of Svacchandanātha like those of *advaita, dvaita, dvaitādvaita* do not seem to have been brought into prominence. It appears that the sculptor was concerned more with the Sadāśiva aspect of manifestation in its various forms. The identification of the image as *Maheśvara-Mahākāla*[69] is not supported by the iconographical representation of Sadāśiva. Phyllis Granoff regards it as a composite figure of Buddhists and Hindus.[70] The seated figure of Īśāna seems to have been identified as the figure of Buddha and that of Aghora as Mahākāla that wears a crown of skulls. The Aghora image that Phyllis Granoff has in mind was, of course, worshipped by the Kāpālikas in crematoriums. In the Mahākāla images Śiva has been usually shown in black colour, drinking wine and embracing Pārvatī, obviously to depict his joyous sport, or to depict the aspect of Kāla, he was shown riding a white horse and accompanied by dogs. Probably such images were worshipped by Mallaris who were known for their dog-like habits and behaviour. But neither the figure of Īśāna, nor

that of Aghora warrant his identification with Mahākāla. Sadāśiva *táttva* is the first *tattva* in the manifestation of the Supreme. This *tattva* symbolizes the dissolution of manifestation or the involution of Śiva in matter which finds its symbolic representation in the Sadāśiva image.

To us it seems the image of Śiva-Mahādeva or Maheśamūrti. The central face is that of Tatpuruṣa, one of the five aspects of Śiva and represents air (*pañcamāhabhūta*). He has open eyes, round eye-balls, bulging cornea, broad eye-brows, smiling countenance; the hair is arranged in *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. The right face represents Agni, that is to say the Aghora aspect with a gaping mouth (*ugra*), prominent eye-balls with large eye-brows (*viśama-netra*), having a fierce look on his face, and the crown studded with skulls. The left face represents Vāmā or Vāmeśvarī (the divine Śakti that projects the Universe out of the Absolute and produces the reverse consciousness of difference). This is the most attractive face, serene and beautiful of all and stands for water. The image on top of the matted hair is that of Īśāna or Sadāśiva. It is formless and directed to the sky. Īśāna as the lord of Vedas and Brāhmaṇas to us appears as the inseparable innate will power of Param Śiva intent on manifestation; that inward state of Param Śiva in which *jñāna* and *kriyā* are unified; the predominant aspect of Sadāśiva. The sculptor here seems to have in mind the inner Śakti of Śiva that acts as the teacher of Śaiva Śāstra. Īśāna as great god Sadāśiva (ether) is seated in *Padmāsana*. He verily represents the limitless space and so the name Īśāna who is the supreme controller, light, pure knowledge and eternal.[71] The back side of the image is Sadyojāta (Nandi-vaktra) standing for the earth. The back side image holds a trident horizontally, and a bell in a fagmentary hand. This is obviously Kāla-bhairava who in the form of merging the universe (*vilaya-kartā*) is called *Kālarudra*.[72] Though Maheśvara is one, he has numerous forms.[73] The image might not be strictly according to canons as *Pañcamukhī* Śiva generally depicts four faces. The top head sculpture of Īśāna is not made by any sculptor because it is said to be formless. He is either Īśāna or Sadāśiva who could not assume any form. But the sculptor here has tried his master hand at a composite figure of *pañcatattvas* or *Pañcamahābhūtas* which is symbolic of these five elements.

This composite figure of Īśāna-Maheśvara as we would like to call it, is masterpiece of Kashmir art. The image wearing a

mrgacchālā, a brāhmaṇical thread in the form of a snake, *vanamālā*, (necklace), the ear ornaments of *sarpa kuṇḍala*, standing with Nandī emerging from behind is the superb iconographical representation of the different aspects of Śiva.

Viṣṇu figures along with Hara known as Harihara are well known from the Gupta period onwards. One of these has been recovered from Bijbehara. The icon is made of green stone. It bears three heads, of whom one represents Aghora, one that of a boar and one that of Tatpurusa. The image seems to be in line with the Vedic worship of Viṣṇu and tāntric worship of Tatpuruṣa. The image indicates the prevalence of the worship of Viṣṇu and that of Hara in Bijbehara.[74] We have similar figures of Harihara in Domaṭṭbala but they belong to the tenth century. Śaivite cult-figures have been found at Malangpora (Pulwama district), Ludav, and these may be ascribed to the seventh-eighth century. Similarly, the sculptural representation dealing with Naṭarāja are datable in the eighth-ninth century. An icon from Ludav shows how a Śaiva shrine was built in the centre of the pond in about the seventh century. The concept of Śiva as the Absolute Lord that pervades the entire universe as given in the *Śvetasvaṭara Upaniṣad* was fully developed by the time of the epics.[75] But till the fifteenth century we find no hostility between Śiva and Viṣṇu. The *Māhabhārata* at one place clearly shows them as equal deities.[76] Viṣṇu himself in his Krishna incarnation sings the glory of Śiva and even worships him.[77] This would suggest the gradual brāhmaṇisation of those tribal cultures which were being assimilated either through devotion to Viṣṇu or the tantric worship of Śakti.

We have the image of Bhairava who, in popular themes, has been represented engaged in killings. But the Wukai image near Sumbal (Ganderbal) shows that Bhairava had a passive form, not so ferocious or gruesome as in other parts of the country. The image indicates that Vaiṣṇavism and Śaivism had a common area of their popularity; and that Harihara images were worshipped in the seventh-eighth century. The pieces of evidence so far make it sufficiently clear that the worship of Harihara and Bhairava continued unabated in the Anantnag region till the tenth century, and that the whole area under the rule of the Utpalas and Loharas was the stronghold of Vaiṣṇavism and Tāntrism. In fact, it was the popularity of the tantric form of worship which led Vaiṣṇavism to incorporate those elements in its pantheon and we find most of the

Utpala and Lohara rulers dedicating such images between eighth to the tenth century.[78]

Early sculptural evidence of outstanding importance is in connection with *Mukhaliṅgas* which have been found at Koṭitīratha, Sheri (in the Baramulla district) and Botsoo (in the Anantnag district). Carved out of a rock of granite of grey colour with some polish, the Śīrī *liṅgam* stands sixteen feet above the level of the mound and is almost three feet in thickness. It is one of the earliest *pañcamukha* Śiva-Liṅgas, the bust and four heads corresponding to the Īśāna, Tatpuruṣa, Aghora, Vāmadeva, and Sadyojāta aspects of the Lord. The Aghora face is a marvellous piece of iconography. The *Mukhaliṅga* in Risiwara indicates that there must have been smaller *mukhaliṅgas* too. Close by stands the Maheśvara-Īśāna image of the same period, and moving along the right bank of the Vitastā, we reach the Koṭitīratha at a distance of three kilometres from here. The *Mukhaliṅga* at this site is well preserved and is at the foot of the hills in close approximity to a spring which, as the tradition has it, is fed by the water of the Ganga at the top of the hill in the deep forests.

The Botsoo *Mukhaliṅga* is similar in design and carving but not so exquisite in workmanship, as the Śīrī *pañcamukhaliṅga* or *Mukhaliṅga* of Koṭitīratha. Another small *liṅgam* the workmanship of which is very fine, represents merely the proper right half on the *Ekamukha-liṅgam,* which once had been joined to another half by means of a hinge. It measures 7.65 cm in height,.5.6 cm broad along the foot of the relief. The breadth of the *Ekamukhaliṅga* between the section and the proper right of this icon is 3.4 cm with the maximum height of the nose of *mukhaliṅga* 6.6 cm. Śiva's face with a receding fore-head and a long nose suggests that the Khasas of ancient Kashmir with the same characteristic features worshipped such *Ekamukha-liṅgas*. Possibly the pocket-size liṅgam was the most favourite object of worship for the noblemen and high officials. It may have been used by these higher classes in their ritual observances in which such idols were placed on a collapsible bronze or silver stand. We do not know anything about the find-spot of the lingam. The Gandhāran costume of Parvati suggests that this *mukha liṅgam* might have come from northern Kashmir which bears predominant Gandhāran influence. Another interesting feature of the icon is the hair style treated in rows of short-waves and a necklace on the idol of Śiva which bears close resemblance to

Gandhāran sculpture. The liṅgam may be attributed to the eighth-seventh century when eastern Gandhāra was under the control of Kashmir and the Śāhis had close relations with its rulers. The figure of the relief, according to Goetz, is a descendant of the old Śiva figures turning up on the Kuṣāṇa coins since Vama-Kadphises and later on those of the Kidāras. Like those latter, Śiva, with three faces and four arms, stands in front of his bull (i.e. Vrsanatha, Lord of the Bull, whence his Kushāṇa name Oesh).[79] The later three-faced type of Viṣṇu in Kashmir may have been an imitation of this Śiva-type.[80] The colossal stone-*liṅga* (locally known as *Baṭa pīr*) in the paddy fields of *peth* (upper) Śiri, at village Śirī in the Baramulla district, referred to above, has certain characteristic features. It is four-faced (*caturmukha*) and is the only master-piece of its kind in the valley. It stands 1′ high, rising slightly from the hollowed centre of a small mound. The base of the *liṅga* is buried in the ground. The four faces of the *liṅgam* are 'Tatpuruṣa, Sadyojāta, Nandivaktra and Aghora'. The top hemisphere, without any form, is to be taken as Īśāna.[81] The *mukhalinga* is datable to the sixth century. In its close vicinity, just a few furlongs away, is the Fatehgarh shrine. Till recently there were numerous *liṅgas* on both sides of the river towards the forest on either side. When we move upstream, we come across a similar, though much smaller *mukhaliṅga* at Koṭitīrtha in Baramulla itself on the right bank of the river. In its execution and finish the *liṅgam* is not as fine as that of Śirī. Probably this *liṅgam* stood close to the Varāhakṣetra temple which was once a seat of great pilgrimage. The whole area from Waziristan (now in Pakistan) to Baramulla was the centre of *liṅga* worship and may have had close association with the Indus valley culture. The *liṅga* worship was most popular and common in the ancient world civilisation. The homosapiens was obviously impressed and influenced by the creative activity of nature. He established a cause and effect relation between the sexual act and the fertilization of animals and the fertility of paddy-fields,[82] which would account for the worship of the *liṅgam* in the religions of these societies deeply connected with fertility gods and goddesses in which the early man must have found a mysterious power of procreation. Thus the generative organs of *liṅga* and *yoni* were held in veneration and considered to be the seat of all procreative process. Massive *liṅgas* were worshipped in the open with all fanfare, huge processions were taken out and movement was imparted to the *liṅgams* through contrivances.[83] West Asia, the

cradle of the Babylonian and Assyrian civilisations was the chief centre of *liṅga* worship, which seems to have been spread over from this country to the entire region of the North Western India. In Thrace Phyrgians worshipped a god whose worship was adopted by the Greeks in the form of Dionysus, the god of fertility, who may have been the prototype of our *liṅgam* and the precursor of Śiva who shared the common characteristics of his vitality and sap (*rasa*) so essential to the flow of life.[84] The close relation between Greece and Kashmir seems to suggest parallel developments in these areas.

The worship of *liṅga* seems to have been very popular with the proto-historic people of the extreme north and north-west of India. The phallic symbols of the early Indus valley sites extending upto Baramulla and the far interior of the valley[85] proves that among the worshippers of Śiva there must have existed some ritual practices in the centuries before the Christian era. The reference in the *Śvetaśvatara Upaniṣad*[86] that Isana presides over every *yoni*[87] possibly refers to *liṅga* and *yoni*, the union of the male and female principles. The numerous standing *liṅgas* in a row along the right bank of the Vitastā in Baramulla would indicate that these were worshipped as the most characteristic symbols of the father-god. We are not certain whether the *arghya* (*yoni*) too was worshipped. Probably it was. The reference to the construction of *mātṛcakras* near the gates (*draṅgas*)[88] in a way symbolised the female element in the tantric form of Śakti worship. Archaeological excavations on the banks of the Vitastā alone would reveal whether the *liṅga* was connected with the *yoni*. But one thing is certain that the *Śivaliṅgas* were associated with trees (*sthala-vrikṣas*) on both the banks of the river and inside the town also. At Uṣkura we have 11′ or 12′ *liṅgas* under a tree.

The evidence of a very interesting sculpture, originally found at Andarkoṭh, 20 miles away from Srinagar, on the Sumbal lake and now in the S.P.S. Museum, has a positive bearing on the point discussed above. It is the *yoni* of a rectangular shape with a *tantra* inscribed on the inner rectangle on which was seated the *Śivaliṅga.*[89] This icon belongs approximately to the period of the seventh-sixth century A.D. and it is almost certain that this mode of worshipping typifies the union of the male and female principles (*liṅgam* in *arghya*), which concept was evidently of an earlier date. Archaeology thus tends to substantiate literary evidence that the male

emblem was worshipped together with the *yoni*, which indicates that the female principle as the symbol of the mother-goddess and the male principle as the symbol of the father-god, had something to do with the Śiva-Śakti worship of the historic period. A huge rectangular *yoni* with the *yantra* defaced in the middle at Naran-Nag (4 km away from Wangat) also points to a similar practice in the Śiva Bhūtésa temple there.[90] The archaeological data clearly indicates that *liṅga-yoni* worship was current in Kashmir at least from the fourth century, if not earlier. As the shrine of Bhūtésa is closely associated with Bhairava, the iconographic evidence here supports our view that *linga-yoni* worship was fully developed by the seventh century. Similar finds from Wontabhavan[91] (Srinagar) show how tantrism was most popular during this period. A chiselled rectangular-stone 78 × 51 cms with *yantra* incised in the middle represents the male organ (now missing) with an *arghya* below it. This proves close association of the *liṅga* with *yoni* in Pravarasena's city. As the site is quite rich in Buddhist finds also, it is likely that the Buddhist tantras and Śaivāgamas considerably influenced the art motifs of each other and the inspiration in both the cases seems to have come from the brāhmaṇas who freely adopted the themes of the Bodhisattvas, Tārā and Prajñā as they did of Śiva-Śakti. We would not be far too wrong to conclude that the Buddhist Tantras developed parallel to Śaiva Tāntras and that both tried to claim superiority over the other. In fact, Śiva-Śakti worship seems to have regarded nothing irreconcilable with the Buddhist Prajñā-Pāramitā, who, to them, was only one of the forms of Śakti.

A remarkably peculiar feature of the *liṅgas* we come across in different parts of the valley, ascribed to the sixth-seventh century,[92] is that those are seated on an octagonal base resting on a square. We have here a three dimensional geometrical figure which is a symbol of the concept of Trinity. The base represents Brahman, the octagonal figure Viṣṇu and the *liṅgam* Śiva. The four-faced Brahmā represents the cardinal directions, Viṣṇu the preserver faces all the eight sides and the square in the middle symbolises (*Śūrya*), personifying Śiva. The tomb of Timūr (Ġor-i-Emir) 150′ high and 60′ thick prepared thus in Samarkand would suggest that such phallic emblems, as we know, were usually erected near or over the mounds entombing the ashes or even bodies of the departed saints or potentates,[93] besides being the objects of worship. A row of such phallic emblems on the right bank of the Vitastā in Baramulla over

several mounds also leads one to the same conclusion that they were the memorial columns the early history of which goes to the Megalithic culture of Burzahom and Yenderhom where such megaliths still stand over the ashes of the chiefs of various tribes. This would suggest that the worship of *liṅgam* was current in India and Central Asia from a much earlier period. In the earlier phase of Śaivism, the Śiva-liṅga was a very huge megalith erected over the ashes of the dead chief as a mark of respect and the deity seems to have been invoked to shower blessings on the tribe and perpetuate the memory of the departed soul whose belongings were placed close to his ashes. The realistic phallus mark, as noticed in the tomb of Timūr in Samarkand, indicates the common practice of the persons commemorating their ancestors by putting it on the column erected by them. The placing of the *liṅgam* on a square pedestal thus seems to have combined, in course of time, the worship of both male and female ancestors, gradually leading on to the tāntric form of Śakti worship. The way in which these memorial stones were erected leaves little doubt that the conventional Śiva-liṅga of later days was developed from the idea of these commemorative megaliths of an earlier period which symbolised the solidarity and community-way of living of the tribe. These megaliths at Burzahom have carved out cups, possibly meant to contain breasts.[94] It seems that barren women went naked round the cup-markings to make themselves prègnant. Application of ochre on the dead bodies, trepanning and other such practices among the people of Burzahom reveal that they were the earliest inhabitants of Kashmir to practise and observe magico-tāntric rites as early as the second century B.C. or the first century of the Christian era. Myths and traditions develop out of the ignorance of the forces of nature and it would not be unreasonable to assume that man must have been deeply impressed by the procreative forces operating in plant and animal kingdom and must have seen in the *liṅga* the secret of all creation and fertilisation. Having separated phallus from his physical body, he may have started worshipping it along with the *yoni*. Gradually, the union of the two was given a place of sanctity, without being lewd in matters of their worship. As the region from West Asia to the Indus valley was very fertile, it was natural for the *liṅga - arghya* worship to develop here along with a huge mass of rituals and fertility rites.

The main centres of *liṅga* worship, as referred to elsewhere,

were West Asia, where the Babylonian and Assyrian civilisations flourished. It appears that the whole belt extending from West Asia upto the Indus valley, including portions of Central Asia, like Samarkand and Kashmir, observed the worship of the phallus-emblem with one or the other deity. The Assyrians worshipped Aserah who was the symbol of the union of Ball and Ashtoreth. Its structure and form was exactly like that of a *yoni*.[95] Such symbols are met with in Babylon and Ninveh also, which establishes a wider area of worship of *liṅga-yoni*. Such symbols are also found in the worship of the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and her husband.[96] The worship of Ishtar alongwith the *liṅgam* had spread to Arabia and Persia. The Arabs called her Alalit and the Persians Mitra.[97] The *liṅga-yoni* worship is also confirmed in parts of Waziristan where at Persian Ghundai and Bhugul Ghundai Aurel Stein came across an object, now identified as *yoni* and the other one a big phallus emblem, both terracotta pieces.[98]

A standing image of Bhairava recorded from Pandrenthan may be ascribed to the second half of the sixth century. The image wears a *Kuṇḍala* in the right ear and another ear-ornament, not clearly visible, in its left ear. It may be identified as Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti[99] that wears an elephant hide upraised in two upper arms over his head, with the head of the elephant suspended on the left side of the image. Bhairava's consort is seated cross-legged on his left side. The crown of the Bhairava is studded with three skulls and the hair is raised like rising flames. The image bears bulging eyes, with prominent eye-brows and wears a necklace. The face is fierce-looking. Of his two lower arms, the left one is disfigured, the right hand is in the position of granting fearlessness (*abhaya-mudrā*). Another image of Bhairava[100] from the same excavated site of Pandrenthan, belonging to the seventh century, is also represented in the anthropomorphic form. Here also Śiva is represented as a fierce, dreadful deity unequalled in his prowess and the forces of destruction. The iconographic evidence would suggest that Bhairava was worshipped in this anthropomorphic form everywhere in Kashmir. The wide range of the Bhairava-worship is indicated by their extensive finds in almost all parts of Kashmir. We have the Bhairava images carved out on stone either independently or accompanying the image of Bhairava on the reverse of a piece of sculpture. The images of Bhairava found in the extreme-northern, northern and south-

western regions of Kashmir, testify to the favourite anthropomorphic representation of the Bhairava, which, undoubtedly, establishes the prevalence of the Bhairava-worship with the tantrics of Kashmir. Even now any type of Śakti-worship is invariably accompanied by the worship of a particular Bhairava. Among other offerings made to a Bhairava, meat or fish is offered to him. The Śivarātri festival is, in fact, the most important occasion when Bhairava is worshipped with all types of offerings of flesh and wine. Obviously, the eight Bhairavas, supposed to represent the different quarters, are worshipped with a view to ensuring a rich agricultural crop. It appears that in earlier periods there were a number of cults of the Pāśupatas and Kāpālikas. Of these *Śaiva-Sampradāyas*, the Kāpālikas and Kālamukhas spread out to other parts of India and most of them settled in the South.[101] Pāśupatism seems to have been a widely prevalent Śiva cult in the Gupta and post-Gupta periods, and many of the chiefs were the adorers of the terrific aspect of the god Bhairava. It seems that in Śāktapīṭha, the shrine of the Bhairava occupied an important place. In the Śaivāgamas it is the dialogue between Bhairava and Bhairavī that explains the main rituals and doctrines of the Śaivas. All these indicate that the Śakti-worship was regarded incomplete without the worship of Bhairava.

Daya Ram Sahni thinks that it is possible that the only Śaiva images excavated in the Avantisvāmin temple, that is the imperfect figures of Ardhanārīśvara and Gaṇapati, which are contemporaneous with the temple, must have been transferred from some other temple, not improbably from the temple near Jaubrar, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ miles north west of the present shrine.[102] He rules out the possibility of the pedestal of a Śiva liṅga to belong to the Avantisvāmin shrines on the ground that all the other images in this temple are either of Viṣṇu or other Vaiṣṇava deities.[103] Sahni perhaps seems to have in mind the suffixes *Īśa* and *Īśvara*, which he believes are only used in the names of Śiva temples and that the use of *Svāmin* or *Keśava* is restricted to the names of Viṣṇu temples.[104] The arguments of Sahni seem to be plausible but not convincing. He forgets that the temples of Kashmir were not exclusively Śaiva or Vaiṣṇava shrines. The deities of other religious faiths were equally accommodated. The Parihasapura capital of Lalitāditya shows there were the images of Buddha, Viṣṇu and Śiva-Liṅgas. If his Tukhāra chief minister Caṅkuṇa could have founded the

Caṅkuṇavihāra, etc[105] there is no reason to disbelieve the presence of a Śiva temple in the Avantisvāmin shrine built by his strong and powerful minister Sura who was a Śaivite and had shrines dedicated to Śiva.[106] On the eve of his death Avantivarman even visited the shrine of Śiva-Jyeṣṭheśvara[107] and disclosed his Vaiṣṇava leanings to his ministers. Even if it is admitted that the pedestal was removed from Jaubrar, $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles away from Avantipur, that would hardly mean that Śaivism had ceased to be popular in and around Avantipur.

An image in a temple under worship at village Tengpuna (distt. Pulwama) is that of Mahiṣāsuramardinī, ascribed to the sixth century. It is an eighteen-armed image of green granite. The goddess is riding a chariot, drawn by three fierce-looking lions. One of the lions pounces upon a demon, holding a club in his right hand, and the other two lions are in grip with the demon Mahiṣa who is depicted in the form of a buffalo. The right side of the image has nine hands bearing the *āyudhas*: quiver, garland, *parśu* (battle-axe), club, the trident that has been struck into the demon, double-edged sword, *Vajra, cakra, gadā* (similar to that of Viṣṇu in the shape of a sword.) On the left hand side the goddess is shown resting her left hand on her left thigh. She is holding a rosary and is shown bestowing fearlessness (*abhaya*). She carries a conch, a bell, a lotus (or *agni* in a pot), the demon's head, a double-sided trident, a shield and a bow. The charioteer is holding the reins of the lion in his left hand and a whip in his right hand. The height of the image is 68 cm with a width of 44 cm. This icon depicts railings and an arch (not a complete trefoil). The round oval face shows that the icon bears the characteristics of the Gupta art and has therefore been ascribed to the fifth-sixth century. The icon depicts a complete war scene. The charioteer is shown in full speed driving the *ratha*. This is a typical form of Śakti cult in which the god was worshipped in the form of a female. The prevalence of Mātṛkā/Śakti worship indicates the artistic skill of the sculptors to depict the goddess in her various forms of creation and destruction. In the present case she resembles the Babylonian goddess Ishtar and the Assyrian goddess, who, in one of their forms, were considered to be the goddess of war.[108] The goddess was worshipped in the same manner as Śiva, as a result of which the goddess was considered to protect her devotees and destroy their enemies. It is interesting to note that a devotee is shown below the image worshipping the

goddess. The icon of Mahiṣāsuramardinī clearly reveals that tantrism was widely prevalent in the different parts of the valley and that it had become a part of Brāhmaṇical culture. It seems that Mahiṣāsuramardinī symbolised the terrific form of Śiva and as his Śakti she was able to achieve the most heroic deeds of victory over the forces of evil. It is clear that as one of the Śaktis of Śiva, she has occupied an important place in the traditions of the people, which gradually led to the evolution of Śaktism. The goddess is truly represented as being fond of wine, meat and animal sacrifice, especially the blood of a buffalo. She is represented in her most terrific form of killing the *asuras*. It seems that she must have developed out of the concept of Rudra-Śakti, which later on assumed the form of the different and numerous Śaktis of Rudra.

The early Hindu Śāhī sculptures are said to have been influenced by the Rashtrakuta, Kashmir and the Sino-Byzantine art-styles.[109] The temple at Malot (Hund in Afghanistan) dedicated to Śiva, is attributed to Lalitāditya[110] and according to Percy Brown is a provincial offshoot of Kashmir style developed by local workmen.[111] Both Goetz and Barrett have recognized the influence of the Kashmir art-styles on the temples of the Sahis. This art style spread outside the valley to Taxila and Hansi in the Punjab and to Afghanistan and beyond.[112] Kashmir art had a great importance as the inspirer of Central Asian art and the fusion of Gandhāra-Kashmir style was destined to travel a long way there. Thus the north-western version of Gandhāra-Kashmir art may have moulded the foreign ways of living and thinking and forced a broader outlook on the tribal groups of Central Asia, producing its impact on all aspects of life. The material remains of this border region clearly indicate how historical events gave new cultural institutions to a nomadic people who, in their own way, also exercised a tremendous impact on the *varṇa* order of society. The Persians, Greeks, Śakas, Pahlavas, Kuṣāṇas, Huṇas and Gurjaras who ruled over the North Western frontier region for a long period were Indianised and considerably influenced by the Śaiva cults. The two wooden reliefs reported from the Swat cave in the Yusufzai territory near the Khyber pass show the Śaivite panels which Agrawala has identified as depicting the dancing Bhṛiṅgi, a Śaiva devotee, and a portion of the story relating to the descent of the Gaṅga.[113] The other two marble Śaiva sculptures represent Śiva as *Ūrdha-retas* and three headed.[114] In a cast bronze *Śivaliṅga*, there

is a human face of Śiva on the convex surface and Śiva-Pārvatī on the inner flat surface. A marble *Ekamukha Śivaliṅga* has been reported from Peshawar.[115] The other sculptures in marble are the Mahiṣāsuramardinī, Durgā, Vaikuṇṭha Viṣṇu, etc.[116] These sculptures show clear influence of Kashmir style of art. All this piece of evidence indicates that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism were equally popular in Gandhāra, which was closely linked to Kashmir. It is clear that by the middle of the fifth century Śaivism had made considerable progress in Afghanistan and Taxila and that sculptures from these regions illustrate elaborate Śaivite themes in a dynamic fashion.[117] During the Gupta and post-Gupta period the majority of the rulers, whether in Kashmir or in Afghanistan and even those who favoured other sects, were swayed by Śaivism. Though we do not have any copper plates recording the gift of land to various beneficiaries, the *Rājataraṅgiṇī* of Kalhana shows that kings made liberal donations to the Śaivites and the Vaiṣṇavas. Kṣemendra's satirical writings like the *Deśopadeśa-Narmamālā, Kalāvilāsa, Daśāvatāra-carita*, etc would suggest that the landed-beneficiaries were mostly brāhmaṇas who as tantric gurus exploited the peasantry. This shows that tantrism had degenerated into a ritualistic cult and the brāhmaṇas had assumed the position of the cruel tantric gurus.

It seems that the upper valleys of the Jhelum, Chenab and Ravi rivers (roughly corresponding to southern Kashmir) were not very much under the influence of tantrism. The Greek domination for a period of some two hundred years was responsible for the fusion of Greek and Kashmir art.[118] Demetrius' brief rule over a portion of southern Kashmir[119] followed by that of Menander shows that Buddhism was very popular in this region.[120] It is only with the Kuṣāṇas that Śaivism in the form of Mahāyāna Buddhism enjoyed the royal patronage. During the Huṇa rule Śaivism made appreciable progress and found royal favour and patronage. The granting of *agrahāras* to brāhmaṇas shows that Śaivism and Vaiṣṇavism enjoyed equal patronage, though both the Kārkoṭa and Utpala rulers had strong leanings towards Vaiṣṇavism. Nevertheless, Śaivism, Buddhism and Vaiṣṇavism flourished together. Towards the closing years of Śamkaravarman's reign, the tantrics seem to have gained ascendancy, virtually determining and deciding the succession to the throne of Kashmir. In such conditions of social and economic turmoil, a king who could offer

a strong and stable government was given whole-hearted support by the brāhmaṇas to restore the pre-existing social order. Jalauka, after Aśoka, and Dāmodara II following him were devout Śaivites who restored the brāhmaṇical order of society. After the Kuṣāṇas, the valley of Kashmir was governed by a local ruler Abhimanyu who was a patron of Śaivism. The rule of the Huṇas was specially noted for the popularity of Śaivism and they seem to have enjoyed full backing of the brāhmaṇas as they were worshippers of Śiva and constructed a number of shrines dedicated to that deity. Till the rise of the imperial Kārkoṭas the valley was ruled by kings like Aśoka, Kaṇiṣka, Mihirākula, Pravarasena, Meghavahana, Toramāna, Raṇāditya, etc. During their rule both Buddhism and Śaivism got royal patronage and we have a number of cities and capitals being constructed either in the name of the king or of the deity worshipped by the ruler. The accumulation of social surplus in the temples and Lalitāditya's campaign being financed by their wealth clearly indicates that the Gonandīya rulers before him had pronounced Śaivite leanings and that they liberally donated *agrahāras* to brāhmaṇas.

To recapitulate, Śaivism, in its earlier form of tantrism, was most prevalent throughout the valley in the early centuries preceding and succeeding the Christian era. Tantrism continued to progress in the Śaka Kushāṇa period and became quite popular in Kashmir during the fifth-sixth century. Its popularity was phenomenal during the post-Gupta period. Thus by the eighth-ninth century tantrism along with the worship of Śiva, had spread throughout Kashmir. The Āgamas reflect that a number of Śaiva sects—the Pāśupatas, the Kāpālikas, the Kālamukhas, etc had gained a foot-hold in the different parts of the valley. It may suggest that the non-Vedic culture and religion had the edge on the Vedic culture.

The brāhmaṇisation of the tribal deities was possible only through the concept of Śiva-Śakti, in which the various mother goddesses were assimilated and regarded as the various Śaktis of Śiva, thus maintaining their identity. A study of tantrism in its formative period clearly reveals how the Śiva-Śakti worship evolved with the identification of the popular divinities (mother goddesses) with the brāhmaṇical concept of *Caitanya* in an attempt to brāhmaṇise the popular cults, and how tantrism helped the upper orders to preach the brahmana ethics and reconcile the masses to social inequality through the theory of *malas* which

obscure an otherwise mini-Śiva (*aṇu*) capable of regaining his lost freedom.

The statuette of Śiva and Pārvatī from the north-western frontier province, Hariti statuette from Brār in the Lidder valley (Kashmir), the Lakṣmī from Vijabror (Srinagar Museum) show, with slight variations, similarities in the costume used. The colossal statues of Hindu deities from Gupta and Pandrenthan show a piece of cloth loosely falling down from the waist, one end of which closely folded together, is drawn over the left shoulder of the deity. These statues of goddesses classified as the Buddhist Hāriti or the Hindu Lakṣmī or Pārvatī reveal some interesting facts. The statues show that the hold of Buddhism was limited to a small upper class. The people of Kashmir venerated its indigenous deities. Pañcika and Hāriti, or Śiva and Pārvatī were some of the local deities adopted to different cults introduced from the Indian plains. The Hāriti of Sahra-Bahlol (N.W.F.P.) is surrounded by children like Hāriti. She wears the trident of Śiva which otherwise is never found as an emblem of Hāriti. Goetz is right in concluding that the former Hāriti image was changed into the great mother goddess, who today is venerated all over the Himālayas as Cāmuṇḍā.[121] This shows that the mother goddess worship was very popular alongside the worship of Śiva. This corresponds to the concept of the tantra texts where Śiva Śakti go together.

NOTES

1. *Lahore Museum Catalogue of Coins* (White-head) plate, XVII, Nos. 31, 33.
   Calcutta Museum Catalogue of Coins (Smith) p. 68, Nos. 1-12.
2. Lahore Museum, plate XVII, Nos. 36, 106-108, 110-114.
3. Lahore Museum, plate XVII, 65; plate XVIII, Nos. 106-108, 110-114.
   Calcutta Museum Catalogue of Coins (Smith), p. 74, Nos. 64-77.
4. Calcutta Museum, p. 70, Nos. 9 to 10.
5. Lahore Museum, pl. XVIII, Nos. 110-114.
6. Lahore Museum, pl. XIX, Nos. 150-152, 153-156.
7. Calcutta Museum, p. 78, Nos. 16-17.
8. Calcutta Museum, p. 80, No. 40.
9. Calcutta Museum, p. 80, No. 40.
10. Calcutta Museum, p. 78, No. 15.

11. Banerjea, *DHI*, second ed., pp. 123-24.
12. Banerjea, *DHI*, p. 124.
13. *Ibid*.
14. Calcutta Museum, p. 48, Nos. 1-34; Lahore Museum, plate XIX, nos. 209-230.
15. Lahore Museum, plate XIX, Nos. 231-235.
16. Calcutta Museum, p. 88, Nos. 55-8.
17. The reference in the *Deśopadésa* and *Narmamālā* of Kṣemendra (c. A.D. 1050-1100) clearly show to what extent tantrism had permeated the society and how the tantric gurus exploited the impoverished peasantry that was already groaning under the feudal yoke of the various officials of the state, both civil and military.
18. Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 37, (1894).
19. *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1848, p. 24; Transactions of IX, Internat, Congress of Orient, 1892, p. 232; PT III-103.
20. Cunningham, *Coins of Med. India*, p. 27, sqq; Later *Indoscathians*, pp. 61, sqq.
21. *RT*, I. 306-314.
22. *RT*, I, 325 sqq.
23. *Śrīvara*, III, 213.
24. *RT*, VII, 1080-1086.
25. *Ibid*., 1096-1101.
26. *RT*, 1100-1101.
27. *Ibid*., 1107.
28. *Śrīvara*, III, 213, It is clear that the Toramana coins remained in circulation as late as in fifteenth century.
29. *Coins of Med. India*, pp. 32, 37,45 Sqq.
30. *CMI*, III, 3; *Ibid*., 4.
31. *RT*, 167, ff.
32. *Ibid*., I, 306.
33. *JASB*, XXIV, (*Num Supp*) p. 7. *JNSI*, X, I, pp. 31-33.
34. No. 2421/14 in S.P.S. Museum collection.
35. No. 2421/2 in S.P.S. Museum collection.
36. In S.P.S. Museum collection.
37. No. 24, etc in S.P.S. Museum collection.
38. *RT*, I, 333-334; *Brahmavaivarta Purāṇa* mentions the animals dear to the mother-goddess and says that human sacrifices are most dear to her. It provides instruction for selecting suitable human beings called Mayati (Pt. II, 64, 92, 100).

39. *RT*, III, 99-100; V. 55.
40. Īśānadevī, the queen of Jalauka, is said to have placed *Mātṛcakras* (circles sacred to the Mothers) at the gates of Kashmir. It appears that, in the beginning mystical diagrams were carved in stone and worshipped according to the *Tantraśāstra*. Subsequently, it seems to have developed into the worship of the mother-goddess or Śaktis. *RT*, 123, 335, 348, III, 99; V. 55. At one place Kalhaṇa uses the term *devī-cakra* as an equivalent (I, 333).
41. *RT*, III, 100-101.
42. No. 2421/10, S.P.S. Museum collection.
43. Will Durant, *The Life of Greece*, p. 179.
44. No. 2421/6, S.P.S. Museum collection.
45. Sir John Marshall, the *Buddhist Art of Gandhara*, Cambridge 1960, pl. 32, fig. 51.
46. No. 2421/6, S.P.S. Museum collection.
47. A. Foucher, *Art Greeco-Bouddhique due Gandhare*, Paris 1950-51 fig. 488.
48. Cunningham, *Temples—An Essay on the Arian Order of Arch*: as exhibited in the Temples of Kashmir; *JASB*, 1848, Part I, Calcutta; Cunningham's & Cole's assumptions *JASB*, 1848, pp. 247.
49. No. 2496, S.P.S. Museum collection.
50. *Brahmavaivarta Purana*, pt. II, 6448, etc.
51. *Pandrenthan, Avantipur and Martand*, pp. 10 ff.
52. *Icchā Śakti Umā Kūmarī*, SS, I-13.
53. It is interesting to note that the five faces of *Gāyatrī* seem some-how to correspond to the five Śaktis of Parama Śiva, the vibration of which leads to the involution and evolution of the universe to Him from the *Śivatattva* to *Mahāmāyā* Tattva, Śivanātha to Anantanātha *tattveśvaras* and from *Śāmbhava* beings to Videsvaras. Śakti thus occupies a premier position in the Āgamic belief and worship.
54. I, 122, 335, 348 III, 99; V. 55.
55. No. 2421/20, S.P.S. Museum collection.
56. Nos. 2421/20, 2496, S.P.S. Museum collection.
57. *Annual Report of the Director General of Archaeology in India, 1918-19*, p. 20.
58. *Indian Architecture, Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical Remains*, Bombay, 1965.

59. For a detailed study of the Tithadevi temple, see *Indian Architecture*, Brown, pp: 9 ff.
60. S.P.S. Museum Śiva (Pandrenthan), Ardhanarisvara.
61. *RT*, I, 122, 348, etc III, 99.
62. *Ibid.*, I, 348, III, 99 V. 55.
63. *Ibid.*, I, 104 Si-Yu-Ki, 1 f. 150 Sq.
64. *Ibid.*, I, 105-107.
65. *RT*, I, 107 ff.
66. *Ibid.*, I, 117.
67. Kalaroos is three miles away from Candigam in the Lolab Valley.
68. *Fatehgarh Shrine* (Baramulla).
69. D. Phyllis, *Archives of Asiatic Art*, Vol. XLI. I, pp. 64-82.
70. D. Phyllis, *Archives of Asiatic Art*, (*Artibvs ASIAE*), New York University, Vol. XLI-I, pp. 64-82.
71. Cf. Mbh. (Karna) 24, 61, 63, Salya, 39, 6; *Sauptika*, 6, 32. The *Śvetasvatara Upaniṣad* hints at the supremacy of Rudra since the days of the composition of the Brāhmaṇa. He is called *Īśa, Maheśvara, Śiva and Īśāna* (3.11-12; 4.10; 4.11; 5.14).
72. *Mbh.* (*Anu*) 22, 166, 33. 188, 90.
73. *Ibid.*, (*Karna*) 24, 62, 64.
74. *Vijayeśvara-collection* in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.
75. *Mbh.* (*Drona*), 74, 56, 61, 169, 29; (*Anu*) 22, 159; (*Karna*) 24, 62, 64.
76. *Ibid.*, (Anu), 112, 53.
77. *Ibid.*, (*Drona*), 74, 16, 51, 169, 29, etc.
78. *RT*, V.VI, VII *passim*.
79. *Artibus Asiae*, XXVII (1964, New York) *op. cit*.
80. S.P.S. Museum Collection of Trimurti Viṣṇu.
81. Śirī is a village, just half a kilometre away from the left bank of the river Vitastā, as a distance of four kilometres on the Baramulla-Urī Road.
82. Clifford Howard, *Sex-worship, op. cit.*
83. Herodotus, II. 48.
84. Farnele, *Cults of the Greek State, op. cit.*
85. Vontabhavan plates.
86. IV, II; V.2.
87. Bhandarkar, R.G., *op cit.*, 114 note 1.
88. All the *dvaras* or *drangs* indicate that these were the frontier regions where the worship of the Mother was very common

and popular. The Pir Pantsal (Raj. 140) pass was the most important watch station, marked to this day by the village of Draṅg. *Mātṛcakras* are mentioned by Kalhaṇa very frequently. From his account it appears that the worship of the *Śrī-Cakras and Rājñīcakras* in the form of mystical diagrams was a very old practice conducted both in private houses and temples. This clearly shows that the goddess-worship was widely prevalent in forest belts which were the pockets of the different tribes.

89. S.P.S. Museum collections.
90. The stone *Arghya* lies amongst the ruins of the temples at Wangat, 48 kms distant from Srinagar.
91. S.P.S. Museum No. 2971 Barṣu.
92. *Infra*, see Wontabhavan plates.
93. *The Phallic Emblem in Ancient India. JISOA*, Vol. III, 1936 ff. 40.
94. *Burzahom Excavations*, 1960-1968.
95. Clifford Howard, *Sex-worship, passim.*
96. Jastrow, M., *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, pp. 205-206.
97. Herodotus, I, 131.
98. *Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India*, No. 37, p. 38, pl. IX, p. 45, pl. X.
99. No. 5070, in S.P.S. Museum collection.
100. S.P.S. Museum No. 2421/1.
101. *The Kapalikas and Kalamukhas, passim.*
102. *ASI* (AR), 1931-1914, p. 41.
103. *Ibid.*
104. *Ibid.*, 40.
105. *RT*, IV, 211, 215.
106. *Ibid.*, V, 37-40.
107. *Ibid.*, 123.
108. Jastrow, M., *Civilisation of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 34.
109. Goetz, *Two Early Hindu Sahi Sculptures*, pp. 1 ff (Reprinted from Sarupa Bharati, L. Sarup Memorial Volume, Hoshiarpur, 1954 Barret, D. *Sculptures of the Shahi Period; Oriental Art* New Series, Vol. III, No. 2 1957, pp. 54-59.
110. *ASI, AR* 1920-21 p. 4; H. Goetz, *JBU*, Vol. 21 pt. 2.
111. *ASI*, R. 1872-73, Vol. V, pp. 87, 195.
112. H. Goetz, *India, Five Thousand Years of Indian Art*, Bombay 1951, p. 153.
113. *East and West*, Nos. 1-2 March-June 1967, pp. 86 ff.

114. D. Barrett, *op. cit.* Illustration, *Sculptures of the Ṣāhī Period*, pp. 54-59.
115. Taddei, M., An Ekamukha liṅga from the NWFP and some connected problems. (A study in iconography and style), *East and West*, New Series, Vol. XIII, No. 4, Dec. 1962, pp. 288-310.
116. G. Tucci, *Oriental* notes-II and image of a Devī discovered in Swat and some connected problems, *East and West*, Vol. XIV, Nos. 3-4, Sep. to Dec. 1963, pp. 146-182.
117. A liṅga-shaped portable sanctuary of the Ṣāhī period, *East and West*, Vol. XV, Nos. 1-2, January, 1964-Mar 1965, pp. 24-25.
118. Brown, P., *Indian Architecture*, pp. 154-61, Goetz H., *Journal of Bombay University*, XXI, pt. 2, pp. 69, ff.
119. Tarn, WW., *The Greeks in Bactria and India*, p. 155.
120. *Milindapañho*, 82-83.
121. *A Kashmiri Lingam of the 10th Century*, p. 279.

9

Doctrines of the Śaivas

The tantric form of worship evolved through popular cults was founded on the doctrine of *Śakti*,[1] which distinguishes it from its Vedic phase. The chief characteristics of the Āgamas,[2] as distinguished from the *Upaniṣads*, lie in the fact that *Paramatattva* called Śiva is considered *Śaktimān*[3] whereas the Brahman of Vedic thought is consciousness (*Caitanya*), but it is not spontaneous activity (*kriyā* or *spanda*). The *Param Caitanya* (Śiva or Brahman) of the Tantras is both *jñāna* and *kriyā*;[4] it is dynamic and not static. The dynamism or spontaneity of *Caitanya* is known by the name of *Śakti*, which, on the practical plane, operates and informs ritualistic *cults*, *yantra*-worship and *mātṛkācakra*. Though the Tantras, unlike the Buddhists and the other heterodox sects, did not condemn the sacrifices and other ritualistic observances, yet they made their performance not necessary, for it was preached that one could obtain *mokṣa*[5] even without them, by recognizing one's nature of Śivahood or what we may call 'I-consciousness.'[6] The Āgamas hold that the nature of *kriya* is not dependent on *Māyā* but is inherent in the very nature of Śiva. The shift from the ritualistic cults and the inaction of Brahman to Śakti and the spontaneous activity of Śiva was a major change which marked the evolution of tantrism.

An idea as to how the doctrine of Śiva-Śakti evolved and became a vital force in tantrism may be best gained by following the history of *Śakti* which imbibed various shades of meaning at different stages of mother-goddess worship. It denotes a whole set of ideas and a religious principle (operation of *Śakti* at various levels). The words *Śakti, Śaktimān, Caitanya* are intrinsically related.[7] No

agricultural operation, ritualistic activity and host of other human activities have ever been completed without the active involvement and association of the female principle in the history of human civilisation. In the primitive tribal group the female seems to have owned most of the tribal wealth, which appears to account for the prohibition of marriage outside that group. In course of time she came to be regarded as the chief source and mainstay of the economic activity of the disintegrating tribes, which gradually took to agricultural economy from the pastoral one. She came to be looked upon as a goddess and worshipped as *Kuladevī*[8]/Parameśānī Devī. The original conception of *Śakti* was material and concrete and the favours of the gods seem to have been looked upon in the form of fertility goddesses, who ensured the material prosperity of the kinsmen.[9] All spontaneous activity of Param Śiva seems to have been concerned in terms of His will (*Icchā-Śakti*); hence, in its early use *śakti* is both *Jñāna-Śakti* and *Kriyā-Śakti*[10] which emanates from His *Ānanda*, or which would precisely mean his *Ānanda-Śakti* or *Spanda*.[11] The term *Sakti* as applied to *Param Śiva* was in the same manner used for men. Thus, if the creation (*sṛṣṭi*) is the outcome of Śiva's *ānanda*, his *kriyā* or *spanda*, likewise the creation of *jīvas* is for their *ānanda*. *Śakti* thus came to imply the self-emanation of *Śiva* on the cosmic plane and the self-emanation of *jīvas* on the material plane. The possession of Śakti made men and women equal, without any sense of inferiority attaching to one or the other. The Āgamas say that Śiva without Śakti is inconceivable, nor can Śakti be treated differently from Śiva, which in Śaiva terminology is also known as *Vimarśa*. To say, however, that the śakti exists in Śiva is but a form of speech, since He and Śakti are, in fact, one, and Śakti is eternal (*anādi-rūpa*). The manifestation of Śiva does not arise from any compulsion or necessity. It is the result of His Absolute Will.[12] Likewise, the individual (Śiva become *jīva*) multiples himself in his *ānanda*. However, we may note that this idea of fraternity shared by gods and men gradually disappears. The idea of manifestation stands but with a change. In its earlier phase Param-Śiva was as free as the individuals were. But now in its later phases the individual becomes mini-Śiva (*anu-śiva*) and his freedom is restricted through that very bond of Śakti which characterized their freedom. It is the introduction of *Mayā* or *Mayā-Śakti*,[13] which limits his freedom of action and will and envelops him through five *Kañcukas*[14] (six, if we

include *Mayā* also as *Kañcuka*) and makes him a limited being, though, according to the brāhmaṇa ethics he is still Śiva with a cloak of obscuration.[15] This would suggest that the concept of equality had started gradually receding with Param Śiva only as the Absolute Lord, enjoying freedom from creation and freedom to *kriyā*. The infinite and transcendental energy (*Śakti*) is inseparably merged in Him. As this aspect (*kalā*) is beyond the phenomenal context, He, by his free will (*Svātantrya*) sets energy into motion and His *ābhāsa* (appearance) shines as the manifestation of energy. The variations in the meaning of Śakti, particularly *Māyā Śakti*[16] which is a reflex-action in a society that has changed from its tribal status of equality indicate the extent to which social relations govern our thinking. The self-projection of Śiva,[17] which, of course, admits of His positive involvement in His manifestation, now suffers a slight change in that the individual is not as complete (*pūrṇa*) as Śiva. It is, no doubt, His self-emanation or sport,[18] but in the process the *jīva's* freedom has been limited or somewhat lost. While Param Śiva's Śakti is creative and dynamic, the *jīva's* Śakti undergoes a change inasmuch as he feels the pangs of hunger, thirst and is overpowered by sleep, etc. This differentiates him from the *Śakti* or *Śuddha Saṃvit* (pure consciousness), which is in fact the *Vimarśa* of *cetanā*, the characteristics of which is *ānanda*. The pure, limitless and absolute *cetanā* has always self-awareness, which in its subtlest form is its subtle *kriyā*.[19]

The Āgamas explain the change as the product or outcome of His *spanda* (vibration) in which no external or internal forces work on Him. Manifestation is distinct from the process of creation. Nothing new is created, all that exists is Śiva; there is no *tattva* (element) opposed to or separate from Him. This is in sharp contrast to the doctrine of the Siddhāntins to whom, besides Śiva, there are *paśu* and *pāśa* which are completely subordinated to Śiva. It follows that this manifestation, far from being the result of any other factors is, in essence, the appearance (*ābhāsa*) of Śiva and is just the sport of the Lord who, it might be said, reveals himself in the form of numerous entities at different levels of consciousness. This would suggest that the manifestation of the Lord, just a mere sport, signifies not only loving concern for the *jīvas* but extending his grace.[20] This is his *Svātantrya* (freedom) or what we may call as his nature any question about which would be as redundant as asking: why does the fire burn?[21] This absolute freedom expresses itself in

his fivefold activities (*pañcakṛtya*) the purpose of which is His own *ānanda* (*ullāsa*).[22] A late text of the early eighth century elaborates[23] the point thus: just as an absolute sovereign, invested with plenitude of power, decides to go barefooted for his own sport and for the time being leaves aside all the royal conveyances out of his spontaneous activity, in a similar manner Param Śiva is all spontaneity who, out of His free will, sports Himself from the *Śivatattva* to the *pṛthvī-tattva*[24] in all his manifested subjects and objects in their different forms. This entire manifestation which is the external motion of *Spanda* constitutes endless *bhuvanas* , ideas and bodies formed of the thirty-six *tattvas*. The appearance of Reality and the dissolution of all that is manifested is his *Svātantrya*, which is the cause of the manifested universe. The *Caitanya* or Param Śiva or *Citti* is the Reality which underlies, as its innermost and true self, every experiencing being and object in the universe, both individually and as a whole. Param Śiva is one and the same in all, undivided and unlimited by any one of them, howsoever, separated they may be in time and space. Comparatively *Śivata* is a stable and *Śaktita* is a dynamic idea. The diverse universe lies between *Śivata* and *Śaktita* in the light of *Śuddha-Saṃvit* in such a way as seed lies in a plant.[25] This would mean that Param Śiva is beyond time and space; it is eternal and infinite. He is both immanent and transcendent.[26] He pervades the universe and is beyond all universal manifestations. The immanent aspect of the Lord is called Śakti, which is not in any way different from or independent of Him but is one and the same with Him.[27] This idea of sharing the nature of Śiva (*aikātmya*, *Śiva-svarūpabhāva*) reflected by the Āgamas is not a mere tantric experience, but indicates the belief in a real kinship between men and Param Śiva. This feeling of love and kindredship with *Citti* reflects a primitive communal life which gradually loses its force in Śaiva philosophy, when the individual is removed from such intimacy and kindredship on the ground that he loses his freedom from, what the *Āgamas* would like to call, his *Ānavamala*[28] (the limitation arising from the state of creaturehood). The *jīva* is made to forget his *Śivatva* because of the three *malas*;[29] *ānavamala*, *mayamala*, and *kārmamala* (limitation due to his identification with this-ness). His *Śivatva* is now reduced to *anutva* (atomisation), freedom from which is claimed through the means (*upāyas*) of the same type, namely, *ānavopāya*, *śāktopāya* and *śambhavopāya* which become tools in the hands of the *ācāryas* or

brāhmaṇs, who now claim to compel the divine mothers[30] to remove these defilements either through the observance of rituals or the performance of Śaivayoga. At this stage the relations between Śiva and Sādhaka become formal, and there is no place for consanguinity with the Lord. The beginnings of the idea of divine grace and a *guru*, which are linked with the principle of devotion, may be found in most of the Āgamas, although it is in the *Mālinī* and *Vijñāna Bhairava* that the doctrine of *Śaktipata* (grace of the mothers) finds its clear exposition. This is so because the whole manifestation is the expansion of *Śiva-Śakti*, which, though undifferentiated, looks separate at the level of manifestation.[31] To realize this phenomenon the same Śakti gives the sādhaka the knowledge of 'I-consciousness.' Thus both at the level of manifestation and dissolution *śakti* plays the key-role. In fact, bondage and *mokṣa* have no relevance in the Āgamas as these are nothing but the expressions of Śiva's *Svātantrya* or His sport and pastime (*līla-vilāsa*). Param Śiva obscures Himself through His will[32] and also shines as the light of intelligence by removing the veil of obscuration, which would suggest that He conceals His true nature by an imaginary abstraction of subjects and, having done away with that bondage, reveals Himself as *buddha-svarūpa* (light of intelligence). Abhinavagupta says that because of his absolute nature (*pūrṇasvabhāva*), He is called Param Śiva.[33] He is eternal (*sat*), consciousness (*cit*) and bliss (*ānanda*) the only attribute of which is Śakti of freedom (*Śakti-Svātantrya*),[34] which distinguishes Him from the conscious (*Jñānasvarūpa*) and motionless Brahma of the Advaita Vedanta. In common parlance Paramśiva is the undifferentiated form of Śiva-Śakti. He is *Para-Pramātā* (the independent subject), the supreme *Ahaṃ*. Even after His manifestation, His identity remains with the universe which is constituted of those very elements which is Śiva. Thus there is the harmony/unity of principles (*tattvas*) between Śiva and His manifestation the potentiality of which lies in His wish (*Icchā*), the entire universe being his ideal appearance/ideation. He is supreme (*anuttara*),[35] the manifestation and dissolution of the universe being completely dependent on His sovereign will. His *Citt-Śakti* is different from his *Icchā-Śakti*, the latter being simply called *Śakti* (*icchā*, *jñāna* and *kriyā*) in relation to manifestation, whereas the former is His eternal feature, technically known as self-consciousness, 'I am'. He is *Naṭatāja*, who, of His free will, directs and controls, so to say, the ideal appearance of the universe in spite

of the apparent causes, material causes and efficient cause, acting the part of a limited subject in a limited universe. Had He not manifested Himself and remained the *same (ekarūpa)*, this supreme *tattva (paramtāttva)* would have been just something like a jar or a piece of cloth.[36] He is said to perform His *līlā* (play) in regular or irregular courses: *abheda, bhedabheda* and *abheda* through His freedom.[37] He is a dancer (*nartaka*) because of His sportive dramatic performance to represent different characters on the stage of His free will. Param Śiva, out of His absolute freedom, makes His nature appear on the wall of his self as *Pramātā-Prameya* (subject-object) in numerous forms.[38] The freedom of His doership lies in the appearance and dissolution of the world in His own self.[39] Such a phase of manifestation or actuality of the Śakti is called *Unmeṣa, Ābhāsana* (shining forth). The things and beings produced by the opening out of Śakti are built of certain factors known as *tattvas*. The universe is only an expansion of Param Śiva in His aspect as Śakti[40] by which aspect He both becomes and pervades the universe thus manifested and still remains the ever-transcendent *Caitanya* without being affected by the manifestation of a universe. But from the very outset the manifestation of Siva is shown to constitute two distinct grades of *Śuddha Adhvā* (pure creation) and *Aśuddha Adhvā* (impure creation).

The manifestation of the universe and its dissolution is the outcome of the expansion and contraction of Śiva and Śakti/ *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*.[41] The manifestation of the different forms of *Caitanya* are found in the thirty-six *tattvas*, of which the Śiva *tattva* is the first stage in the process of the universal manifestation. The Śiva *tattva* is the first vibratory movement of life, which is controlled and regulated by the *Śakti tattva*. This is the desire of manifesting the universe within Himself and is known as *Śiva-tattva* in which *Citt-Śakti* predominates. It is the stage of experience of pure *Ahaṃ* and everything is in Śiva, nothing being separate from Him. The beings in this state are called Sambhavas, the *Śiva tattva* being, in fact, their *atma tattva*, which is of the nature of consciousness.[42] Alternately, this very *tattva* is known as *Parā-Saṃvit*, Parameśvara, Śiva or Param Śiva. In fact, the whole universe, in its individuality or collectivity, exists in this *tattva* and is indivisible from it from the *Pṛthvī-tattva* to *Śiva-tattva*. The *Śakti-tattva* is Param Śiva's *kriyā* of uplifting His face outwards. Here in this state there is the experience of 'I am'. It is Śakti which imparts

this knowledge (*bodha*) to Śiva and Ānanda-Śakti dominates. The beings of this state are called *Śāktajas*.[43] The *Śakti-tattva* can scarcely be called a second stage as it comes into manifestation simultaneously with the Śiva-tattva. In fact, manifestation of the *Śiva-tattva* becomes possible only by the operation of *Śakti-tattva*. It is on account of this that *Śakti-tattva* is sometimes counted as one with and included in the *Śiva-tattva* . This is, in fact, the first stage which the Āgamas look upon as that of pure awareness (*prakāśa*) and the energy aspect as being the inherent expressive activity (*vimarśa*) leading towards phenomenal emergence.[44]

In the list of *tattvas*, Sadāśiva *tattva* takes the third place when Śakti expands or opens herself out (*unmiṣati*) the universe comes to be, and when she gathers or closes herself up (*nimiṣati* lit. shuts the eyelids) the universe disappears[45] as a manifestation, that is to say, as 'predicable' in terms of discursive thought and speech.[46] Such *unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa* is beginningless and endless. This is the state of the *Ahaṃ* of Śiva and *idaṃ* of the universe. The Sadāśiva *tattva* is thus the first gross *unmeṣa* (literally the upward motion of the eyelids) of Śakti and, in fact the first *tattva* is the evolution of creation/manifestation. The experiences of this state are called *Mantra-Maheśvaras*. In the Sadāśiva *tattva* we have both subject-object, but the subject or *ahaṃ* predominates. The Sadāśiva *tattva* is also called *nimeṣa* as the shining of the universe lies dissolved in *ahaṃ*.

The outward *spanda* (vibration) of Śiva's wish is called *Īśvara-tattva* which manifests itself through the super-abundance of *kriyā-śakti* (action-energy). It is here that *idaṃ* (the universe) dominates over *ahaṃ* which takes a secondary position and both *Kriyā-Śakti* operate.[47] The experience of *idaṃ* takes the tangible form of a visible universe and the lordship of Īśvara becomes much more important than consciousness of the self. If Sadāśiva, Śiva and Śakti are presumed to stand a sort of internal relationship, Īśvara is the state of their externalization. It is a sort of materialization of the Lord's *Kriyā-Śakti*. If Sadāśiva *tattva* be taken to symbolize the dissolution or *nimeṣa* of the universe, the *Īśvara-tattva* may be regarded its *udaya* or *unmeṣa*[48] (coming forth/shining forth). In reality, the process of differentiation or duality starts from this stage where Param-Śiva descends as *Īśvara-tattva*. It is this element which is known as Anantanātha or Śrikaṇṭhanatha when Śiva descends to manifest Himself in this universe. Īśvara, in the form of Mahāmāyā, gives

rise to the *tattvas* or *prakṛti*. Īśvara is thus the first incarnation of Śiva come down to manifest Himself as numerous entities. In a sense, it would mean the thought-transference from macro-cosmic to the micro-cosmic level.

The instrument through which Sadāśiva and Īśvara exhibit themselves as protecting deities is called *Śuddha-vidyā*. Although Param Śiva is the one Absolute Supreme and is faced outwards through Śakti, in a similar manner the supreme domination of Śadasiva and Īśvara is *Vidyā-tattva*.[49] It is from here that the stratification starts. The Ātmā, no doubt, regards itself as pure *Saṃvit* (consciousness), but forgetting its idea of one-ness (*abheda*), it regards itself as different and distinct from Parameśvara, other beings and *prameya-tattvas*. Māyā finds its place in *Śuddha-vidyā*, though its impact is not felt by the Ātmā. However, in *Śuddha-vidyā* the 'I-ness' and 'this-ness' stays in a dualistic form. But the subject (*pramātā*) considers these as the form of *Citt*.

As a matter of fact, the manifestation of the universe, as we observe it, is experienced from the *Māyā-tattva* to *Pṛthvī-tattva*.[50] In the *Aśuddha adhvā* Māyā dominates and the creation of that world of Māyā is effected by Aghorésa through Māyā.[51] As the defilements of Māyā enter into the manifestation, this *adhvā* (path) is called *aśuddha adhvā* or impure (imperfect way or Order). The Ātmā forgets its true nature and is circumscribed; it forgets its universality and supreme knowledge. It does not regard the *ātmā* as *cidrūpa* (the pure *svarūpa*) and identifies it with the body. It does not remember its universal *svarūpa* and starts distinguishing itself from each and all. The manifestation of this universe may be spoken of as the limited process, as distinguished from the Universal process. This constitutes the experience of limited beings who do not realise the whole of the universal 'All this' but only limited aspects of it. They regard themselves as mutually exclusive, limited entities. The prime factor that comes into manifestation as the first product of this order is known as Māyā. The Āgamas thus clearly envisage a polarity, the hierarchy of manifested energy with distinct grades of consciousness from highest to lowest. The manifestation of the Universe in the *Śuddhādhvan* is the perfect and pure way and the things realised are the domains of pure and true knowledge (*Sad Vidyā* and *Śuddha Vidyā*). The experiencing entities are universal beings who realise themselves actually as such, whereas, under the impact of Maya, their experience in regard to

the true nature of both that is experienced and the experiencer himself is limited and obscured.[52] The priestly class perpetuated class divisions through a subtle way of introducing distinct and mutually exclusive types of manifestation in the form of *Śuddhādhvā* and *Aśuddhādhvā* and held Māyā accountable for reducing Siva to the position of a *jīva*. The appearance of *bheda* (differentiation) converts the freedom of Param Śiva to creature-hood and being attached with it the same *Svātantrya-Śakti* is called *Māyā* in its function of disappearance (*tirodhāna-karī*), and is, in fact, the Lord's *Icchā-Śakti* (will) to hide his nature (*svarūpa*).[53] In the Āgamas no distinction has been made between *Māyā* and *Avidyā*. *Avidyā* is said to cause and give rise to all discrimination between individuals and the six *kañcukas* (including *Māyā*) that lead to various kinds of limitations. It is also termed ignorance as it leads to the false identification of the not-self (*antāmā*) with *ātmā*. The Āgamas do not hold the activity of *Māyā* as incidental but consider it as the self-accepted nature of the *ātmā*.The *Ātmā* acts as a *Nartaka*.[54] Parameśvara is an Absolute sovereign who acts either to conceal or reveal His true nature. Māyā is not a modifying circumstance but His manifestation. Paramśiva, in his dualistic-cum-monistic state of creation, gives the form of *Asūddha-tattva Māyā* to His *idaṃ*. This is thus the *unmeṣa* of His *Svātantrya Śakti*. The All-experiencer assumes a sleepy aspect under the influence of *Māyā* and her progeny or the six *kañcukas*. He loses the realisation of Himself owing to time (*kāla*), restriction (*niyati*), limited interest (*rāga*), limited consciousness (*vidyā*), limited authorship (*kāla*).[55] The experiencer becomes oblivious of his true Divine state. He forgets his own glory because of the swaddling clothes of the five limitations of *kāla, niyati, rāga, vidyā* and *kalā*. The glorious 'all this' of the previous state is reduced to a vague notion of the experiencing of a vague, indistinct and undefined 'something'. The experiencer in this state of experience is technically called *Puruṣa* (limited individual spirit) or literally *man*, who, according to the Āgamas, allows himself to be enwrapped and enshrouded by *Māyā* and her progeny. In terms of the Sāṃkhya philosophy it would mean the spirit as passive and a spectator of the *Prakṛti* or creative force. This would mean that the *puruṣa* himself is responsible for his bondage and loss of freedom as he chooses to dilute his freedom following the *Ābhāsa* process where both the primary and each successive originating source, even when products come into

manifestation, remain entirely un-affected. Differentiation in the social order and interests arise, when, by *Ābhāsa* process, he becomes or experiences himself as an endless number of such *Puruṣas* who realise themselves as all differentiated and separated from one another. This would suggest that there is not much harmony in the manifestation of Siva and that conflict between Him and the *Jīva* is inherent in the impure way or order (*Aśuddhādhava*). The *puruṣa* himself opts to lose his freedom of action under the cloak of *Māyā* and multiplies himself endlessly, like the cells of a living organism which, though inter-related, may experience themselves distinct and even separated from one another and even as independent of each other. The brāhmaṇical order explains this diversification of *puruṣas* as the product of Paramśiva's independent will by means of which He, so to say, conceals His all-knowing and all-doing nature and manifests Himself as so many atoms of insignificant knowledge and insignificant action.[56] This limited state accepted by Śiva of His own free will is called *puruṣa-tattva*.[57] The Ātmā forgets its true nature because of limitation, and, instead of sharing the joy of five-fold activities of *citt, ānanda, icchā, jñāna* and *kriyā*, it is enveloped under dense *Māyā*. Diversification and division starts to appear according to the nature of *puruṣa-tattva*. When he (man) identifies himself with the body, he is called *Deha-Pramātā*; when unattached with any one of the objects of the world as in *Pralaya*, it is called *pralayākala*; when free from *karma*, it is *Vijñānakalā*; when under the influence of *kañcukas*, it is called *paśu*.[58] Elsewhere he is called *pumān* (a man/servant), *anu* (atom), *pudgala* (the soul/ body or the individual) (in a disparaging sense) etc. It is thus clear that the *puruṣa* receives different names and attributes according to the nature of work which is primarily associated with his body. The *Deha-Pramātās* seem to be those who were mainly concerned with physical labour and tending of the cattle *Pralayākala* were a little higher in the scale, unconcerned with manual labour. Those who controlled and directed the activities of those two categories and were free from action were known as *Vijñānakala* and in the lowest category were those *jīvas* called *paśus* (animals bound to domestic work) who may have been asked to carry on both agriculture and trade.[59] The Āgamas hold the *puruṣa* himself responsible for his bondage because of his ignorance[60] and the obscuring nature of *Māyā*. He is said to experience pleasure and pain according to his *karmas* and is set in

motion in numerous cycles of births.[61] The moment he realizes his true nature, he is free. This obviously justifies and upholds the segmented society of labourers, agriculturists and intellectuals in whom the grades of consciousness determine their position in social hierarchy. The chief characteristics of the Śaivāgamas is that these accept the *mala* theory and the density of *Māyā*[62] that leads to fragmentation of society with limited individuals and those who are nearer to Śiva and share his *pañckṛtya*. The thirty-six *tattvas* which constitute the whole universe are, according to the Āgamas, the different forms of Param Śiva's different stages, He being the thirty-seventh *tattva*. These *tattvas* do not have any independent existence of their own. The impure creation is thus the handiwork of the omnipotent Param-Śiva whose authority and absolute freedom is unquestioned[63] and whose order of manifestation is divinely ordained in which the individuals have no say till they realize their nature of Śivahood and are free. It may be stated that Param Śiva assumes several forms. The Āgamas, however, maintain that Śiva, in manifesting Himself, has no purpose other than sporting Himself with His idea of appearances.[64] In this sense everything good and mighty is a manifestation of Siva and the continuous process of *avaroha* (descending) and *āroha* (ascending). Whereas in Vaiṣṇavism, the godhead incarnates himself with a purpose and a deity is supposed to descend from heaven (*ava* + *tṛi*), in the Śaivāgamas the continuous process of unfolding and withholding His nature, Śiva expands and contracts, obscures and reveals Himself with no set purpose. The term *avatāra* implies the intrinsic superiority of a principal deity, but in the Agamas behind the thirty-six *tattvas* as the principles and essential factors of our daily experiences, stands Param Śiva. He is beyond them all and comprising them all as their one and most supreme synthesis. The various *Pramātās* are simply the stages of consciousness in which that of the *Deha-Pramātā* is the lowest.

As against the incarnation theory, the Āgamas maintain that it is the *Ātmā* (*Caitanya*) which manifests itself in different forms according to its *Svātantrya Śakti*. It does not assume any definite form that would go by the name of human incarnation. The *Ātmā* manifests itself in various forms in much the same way as an actor in his different roles on the stage.[65] While the *Ātmā* manifests itself in so many forms, it is yet beyond them, beyond the *tattvas* and transcendent. It even assumes the form of no-*Ātman*. *Caitanya* is its

real nature, which, though covered in a dreamy state, is still there like the sun whose brightness may temporarily be obscured by the enveloping clouds. *Ātmā* is the *Saccidānanda Śiva*, which, of Its own free will, becomes limited and appears in the form of *paśu* or *jīva*.[66] This would suggest that it is Param Śiva who, in an embodied form, experiences the pleasure and pain of *paśu* and in a way causes the bondage of mortals through three *malas* by impressing a layer of ignorance, so to say, on them. Brāhmaṇical views had infiltrated the *mātṛkā* worship so deeply that by grafting Śiva on Śakti, they preached the doctrine of self-surrender and reconciliation to a system of social-order, which they claimed to be simply the sport of the Lord who, rather than the individual, was the actual knower and doer. The mother-goddesses of the tribes had now become the numerous and countless Śaktis of the Lord, branching off the prime *Svātantrya Śakti*, to account for the various and mutually exclusive and conflicting groups of the social organism. The non-Vedic people had the consolation that though they were reduced to the state of a *paśu*, they were yet Śiva in all His glory and freedom. Their Śivahood, they were assured, had not suffered any change, suggesting thereby that, though devoted to the task of producing a social surplus for the priestly class, they were yet contributing their labour potential to a class which was identical to them in all respects.

The manifestation of Śiva in the form of a *paśu* admits of certain well-defined categories. The descent of Śiva (*avarohaṇa*) is a process which is classified into seven distinct categories. Śiva is known as Pramata (Independent Subject).[67] As referred to elsewhere, the manifestation is either of pure creation or of impure order.[68] The first four states are of the order of *Śuddhādhvā* (pure way) and the remaining three of the *Aśudhādhvā*. The first state is that of Śiva-Pramātā, which, from the standpoint of the *tattvas*, may be called the stage of Śiva-Śakti. This is the state of pure 'I-Consciousness' and may be called the state of *Cidananda* from the point of view of Śakti. The second stage in the process of manifestation is that of *Mantra-Maheśvara Pramātā*. From the standpoint of the *tattvas* this is the stage of Sadasiva in which consciousness assumes the form of *ahaṃ-idaṃ* and is the state of *Icchāśakti* from the view point of Śakti. The third state is that of *Mantreśvara Pramātā* which is the state of *Īśvara* in the context of the *tattvas*. The experience at this stage is that of *idaṃ-ahaṃ* and is the state of *Jñāna-Śakti* (the power of knowledge

of the absolute). In the fourth state Śiva is called *Mantra-Pramātā* or *Vidyā-Pramātā* or *Videśvara Pramātā* and is the state of *Sadvidyā* from the *tattva* point of view. At this stage we have the distinction of 'Ahaṃ and Idaṃ' (*Ahaṇca-idaṃca*) and is the state of *Kriyā-Śakti* from the *Śakti* point of view. In the fifth state of manifestation Śiva is known as *Vijñānākala Pramātā*, which is the *Puruṣa-tattva* of the *tattvas*. The sixth is the state of *Sakala-Pramātā* and the seventh that of *Pralayākala Pramātā*. [69] The last three states of *Vijñānākala*, *Pralayākala*[70] and *Sakala*[71] are the states governed by *malas* and so are designated as the states of *Aśudhādhvā*. These are characterized by the limitation of Śiva *Śaktis*, *Vijñānākala* beings prone to *āṇava-mala*, *Sakalakālas* to all the three *malas* of *āṇava*, *maya*, and *karma*. In the *pralayākala* all the three defilements: *anavamala*, *māyāmala*, and *kārmamala* lie dormant and the *ātmā* remains as if in deep sleep.[72]

In the *Vijñānakala* state the *ātmā* is enveloped in *āṇava-mala* only, the *māyā-mala* and *kārma-mala* finding no entrance there. But in the *pralayākala* state *Ātmā* is subject to *māyā-mala* and *kārma-mala*, without their being very active. This is the state of rest for the *atma* in which actions, no doubt, ripen but do not force the *ātmā* to assume a body. But once these are activated, the *Ātmā* is called *Sakala*, which is the state of creaturehood (*jīvāvasthā*) and we have the *paśu*. Although the *Ātmā* does not have the consciousness of its supreme nature, it, nevertheless, holds its true nature unimpaired, so to say. The *Ātmā* is *pūrṇa* (absolute). What causes the absence of supremacy (*apūrṇatā*) is due to the ignorance of limited knowledge arising from the *kañcukas* of *Māyā*.[73] The *Ātmā* has the characteristics of *Paramadvaita* (monism) where dualism finds no place. Owing to the association of a body, *prāṇas* (vital breath), *buddhi* (intelligence), etc. *Ātmā* appears diversified in the form of *puruṣas* and yet it is the appearance of unity of Paramātmā. The *Ātmā* accepts diversity originating from *Māyā* which is factitious but not fundamental.[74] This shows that diversity is an appearance of the one Absolute Paramsiva; it is the self-projection of *Ātmā* much in the same way as dreams are the projection of one's mind the truth of which is established when the universal consciousness gathers the self-projection within itself at the stage of dissolution.

The doctrine of incarnation is not strictly applicable to Śiva who is both immanent and transcendent. True, the first four *pramātās* might appear as the godhead incarnate but the Āgamas nowhere state that they have any specific purpose other than the one that

they represent the most evolved souls whom the three types of *malas* generally obscuring the *Sakalākalas*, do not contaminate. The purpose of incarnation associated with the restoration of *dharma* is totally absent. The Āgamas speak of the universality of Śiva who appears in all forms, gross and sentient, at the various levels of consciousness. Śiva, in fact, incarnates Himself, in all *jīvas* whom he endows with varying degrees of power, prosperity and strength :sprung from his *Svātantrya Śakti*. His absolutism becomes more comprehensive than the doctrine of mere incarnation which evolves with the identification of a particular deity with some hero-god. Perhaps, it is because of this diversity in unity that Param Śiva is said to descend and ascend in numerous entities. *Avaroha* and *Āroha* are the continuous processes of *unmeṣa* and *nimeṣa*. The term *avatāra* does not seem to command much respectability in the Āgamas, which treat the whole manifestation as the sport of the Lord. The phraseology of such words as *janman* (birth), *sambhava* (springing up), *sṛjana* (creation), *prādurbhāva* (appearance) commonly used for expressing the idea of incarnation,[75] are replaced by the word *'abhāsa'* (appearance) which takes the entire cosmos as the Appearance of the Supreme Reality. Perhaps, the use of the word *avatāra* would have conveyed the idea of the superiority of some principal deity which the Āgamas were at pains to express as Śiva in all forms and all entities, howsoever small and insignificant. That is what accounts for the tendency to incorporate all the *Śuddhādhvā* and *Aśuddhādhvā* as the shining forth of the Lord.

Of the important and specific manifestation of Śiva, the Āgamas clearly place the first four from Śiva *tattva* to *Śuddhavidyā-tattva* in the first list. These five *tattvas* (if Śiva-Śakti be regarded as two *tattvas*) are manifested by the Lord without any medium whereas for the remaining three in the *Aśuddhādhvā* the entrance of the impurities of *Māyā* is essential to make the *Ātmā* forget its true nature. The first list obviously represents the attempt of the brāhmaṇas to show their superiority over the *Aśuddha-sṛṣti* by claiming immunity from defilements and relegating the other three categories to an inferior position whose prime attribute is association with one or the other type of *mala*. This would imply that Śiva has a tendency to incorporate Sadāśiva as *Mantra-maheśvara*. Īśvara as *Mantreśa* who, for purposes of creation, incarnates himself as Anantanātha and Śrīkaṇṭhanātha. It is Īśvara who, in the state of *Mahāmāyā*, creates the *tattvas* of *Prakṛti*. Thus

the Īśvara of the Śaivāgamas is, in reality, the very nature of Paramatattva come down to earth for creation. It is He who does an act of condescension, incarnating Himself in a human form known as Anantanātha and Śrīkaṇṭhanātha, as referred to above.[76]

The process of the production of the *tattvas* may therefore be spoken of as one of involution, the Reality or Param Śiva being more and more involved. It descends through Īśvara incarnated as Anantanātha towards the stage at which it appears as the physical. It is also a process of differentiation or multiplication. The ultimate Reality produces not one single limited unit merely, but a multiplicity of such unit. Out of the thirty-six tattvas, the *Śiva tattva*, the *Śakti tattva, Sadāśiva tattvas (Sādākhya), Īśvara tattva (Aiśvarya)* and *Śuddha Vidyā* (*Sad-Vidyā*) are universal. The experiencers of the pure. . . realise their respective objects of experience in a given stage as one and identical in every respect. This shows that the experiencers of this stage, chiefly the brāhmaṇas, custodians of knowledge, considered their interests identical in every way. But from the *puruṣa* or broadly speaking the lower segments of society (with its five-fold *kañcuka* or veil), the *tattvas* are all limitedly individual, that is to say they are not only many but mutually exclusive. Thus, though *Māyā* is one and identical for all *puruṣas*, their experiences are not the same. This would mean that their interests belong to different categories of social organisation. The brahmanas were careful to explain that the product in the *Puruṣa-Prakṛti* stage is not a universal all-comprehending something but an infinite number of *puruṣa-prakṛti* pairs, which limit each other and are mutually exclusive. Thus there are produced an endless number of triads, of *buddhi* (intelligence), *ahaṅkāra* (ego) and *manas* (mind), decads of *indriyas*, and quintads of *tanmātras* (the general objects of *jñānendriyas*) and *bhūtas* (the principles of materiality). They correspond to the number of *puruṣa-prakṛti* twins and this countless number of individuals, separated from each other through the mechanism of the mutually exclusive *Buddhis, Ahaṅkāras* and *Manasas*, the decads of the *indriyas* and of the quintad of the *tanmātras* and *bhutas*, is an *Aṇu*. He is the limited *puruṣa*, an *aṇu* of *pṛthvī*. It is how the whole process leads to the logical culmination of involution and multiplication/differentiation towards an infinite number of *aṇus* of the various classes of *tattvas*, from the *purusa*, wrapped in his five-fold *kañcukas*, down to the *pṛthvī*. Coming into existence as so

many classes of *aṇus*, the *tattvas* interact between themselves and are each of them as so many separate and mutually exclusive limited entities. This is the distributive aspect of their existence. In the collective aspect of their existence, each class of *tattvas* forms a single unit, having an existence and behaviour of its own. This would mean that like the cells of a living body, they share the common characteristics of forming a single unit of a single living organism, and at the same time having a definite life and existence of their own, not as a mere collection of many units but as a single unit. These collective entities are termed the Lords of the Tattvas, (the *Tattveśas*) or their presiding deities (*Adhiṣṭhātri devatas*).[77] To such a collective entity belongs Śrīkaṇṭhanātha in the *Prakṛti tattva*.

The brāhmaṇas emphasized these differences and the role of Śrīkaṇṭhanatha as essential to the maintenance of a social organism which was firmly established on class-differentiation. In the period of the Āgamas, the society was firmly organised into a social structure based on the *varṇa* divisions. Though the brahmanas did not employ the term *varṇa* in such differentiation, they introduced the element of *Māyā* and *tattvas* to show how such differences were natural and not the product of brāhmaṇical fabrication. It seems that the old feeling of un-easiness and apprehension at the break up of tribal solidarity and communal ownership was replaced by explaining differentiation and multiplication of an otherwise collective life by means of the thirty-six *tattvas*, the role of *Māyā* and the incarnation of Īśvara as Anantanātha (the Lord of the many). A new order based not on tribal loyalities but on *tattva* organisation, was put forward to show how the earlier tribal bonds were breaking up under the natural order of *puruṣa-prakṛti* pairs and the impact of *Mahāmāyā*, though in reality, it was the interests of the newly emerging class of brahmanas who acted as the ideologues of this social transformation. The close association of Isvara with Śrīkaṇṭhanātha and Anantanātha is evidently due to their agricultural character. Ananta of *Nīlamatapurāṇa*[78] clearly indicates that he was connected with ploughing and fertility. The region round Anantanāga is associated with the plough-bearing Ananta whose *Ananta-caturdaśī* is still celebrated all over Kashmir during the sowing season and women wear a particular thread of scarlet colour round their suspended ear-ornament of gold. In its earlier stages of agricultural operations, the non-Vedic people seem to have worshipped the Ananta incarnation of Īśvara who promised

plenty and prosperity to the cultivating class, particularly women who shared the main burden of cattle-rearing and cultivating their land alongwith men. The *Ananta-caturdaśī* is considered especially sacred for making offering to Ananta in the month of September, the harvesting season of the agriculturists. Ananta's *lāngala* appears to have been the first wooden plough of its kind to make the initial stage of cultivation in a land that had been reclaimed from water.[79]

The Āgamas make it very clear that the *tattvas* (the general factors or principles) constituting the universe of experience exist as *anus* in the dual capacity of distributive and collective entities. And all this is the outcome of a process of logical experiencing out and of involution and differentiation. This is achieved through the *Svātantrya Śakti* of the Lord. And once this is done, the Divine Śakti or the Universal energy takes, as it were, an upward turn (*āroha*) and begins to evolve and re-unite what has thus been involved and differentiated. This would suggest that both the processes of involution and evolution are basically one and hence a proper understanding of the role of the *tattvas* is essential for all human beings. They have a practical bearing on our life in which the movements of the senses, *manas*, *ahańkāra* and *buddhi* are being constantly experienced in their own characteristic way by each and every *jīva*. But from the *Sad-Vidyā* onwards to *Śakti-tattva* there is a universal principle that governs and equally correlates both the experiencer and the experienced, without any individual's experience being different and isolated from the rest.[80] All this piece of evidence suggests that whereas the experiences of those that are closer and nearer to Param Śiva are general and common, being shared by the *Sad-vidyā*, *Aiśvarya*, *Sādā-khya* (Sadāśiva tattva) *Śakti* and *Śiva-tattvas*, the experiences in the lower hierarchy are different and conflicting. This obviously points to two different social formations, one that of the elite sharing a common and identical experience and the other of those *anus* whose experiences diverge and interests conflict with each other. And the background of all this differentation is explained in terms of involution of Param Śiva who is the most supreme Universal Reality and who gives meaning and content to the appearance and existence of the *tattvas*. This would mean that the *tattvas* and the consequent differentiation on the social plane are as natural as the ions and atoms are for the existence of physical things and our every day

experiences, physical and mental, are governed by *pañca-māhabhūtas*, the ten *indriyas*, mind, intelligence, ego, the *prakṛti* as the *purusa*. The five fold *kañcukas* and *māyā* give us a plurality of experiences differing from individual to individual. The *tattva*-theory of the Āgamas was popularised through deliberate brahmanical efforts and the motive behind this was to educate and initiate the masses into brāhmaṇical laws of social and religious morality for which the Āgamas provided a convenient medium for instructions. The considerable number of tribal groups, their arts and crafts necessitated the removal of some of the disabilities. The progressive brāhmaṇas took hold of the non-Vedic popular cults and seem to have brāhmaṇised the mother-goddesses with their recognition as a host of the Śaktis of Param Śiva. Their complete identification as the one supreme Śakti of Siva suggests how the brahmanas succeeded in their attempt to brahmanise the mother-goddess cult as Śiva-Śakti undifferentiated. The syncretistic character of the doctrine of Śiva Śakti is nowhere so well illustrated as in thė Āgamas, which treat the whole manifestation as the result of *Icchāśakti*. It was apparently during the period of the Āgamas that the popular mind identified Bhairava with Rudra Śiva and Bhairavī as his Śakti. The identification of Bhairava with Rudra Śiva was not a casual occurrence but rather a movement rooted in those social conditions which had mitigated the difference between brāhmaṇism and Buddhism, and developed a liberal outlook towards those tribes that had been assimilated in Mahāyānā Buddhism. The doctrine of the *tattvas* and *Māyā* played a major role in mitigating regional and tribal separatism and explaining the differentiation in social formations as also the collective existence of such entities called *aṇus* or *jīvas*. The brāhmaṇa educated the non-Vedic people how the mother-goddess transformed into the Divine Śakti plays important role in involution and differentiation and taking an upward turn begins to evolve and re-unite what has been involved and differentiated. This shows that the mother-goddesses of the different tribes were worshipped as the Divine Śakti of the Lord and with the change over of social conditions from a matriarchal to patriarchal state, the goddesses lost their independent importance and came to be closely associated with Śiva. The matriarchal traditions were so deeply rooted in the minds and customs of the people that, in spite of a process of fusion of the female divinities of many tribes, the attributes of Bhairava were

transferred to his Śakti Bhairavi. She retained the prime attributes of omniscience and omnipotence of Bhairava. Mother-worship held its ground for it is stated that one who enters the state of Śakti, there ensues the feeling of nondistinction between Śakti and Śiva. In the Āgamas Śakti is declared as the door of entrance into Śiva (lit. Śakti is like Śiva's face). Śiva is known by his Śakti who is not different from Him.

The Āgamas, as referred to elsewhere,[81] seek to explain the differences in social formation on the basis of the theory of elements (*tattvas*). The highest in the scale, namely Śiva Pramata is regarded as inseparable from Śakti-tattva, the Mantramaheśvara Pramata is the Sadāśiva *tattva*, the Mantreśvara Pramata the Īśvara *tattva* and the Mantra Pramata the Śuddhavidyā *tattva* and are characterized as *Śudhadhvā* (pure path).[82] These constitute pure *Saṃvid* (consciousness) and enjoy absolute freedom to know everything and to do everything. In the process of going forward (*āvaroha*) their *Svātantrya* Śakti expresses itself into five Śaktis of *citt*, *ānanda*, *icchā*, *jñāna* and *kriyā* which invests them with the power of absolute knowership and doership and the qualities of permanence, all-pervasiveness and all-comprehensiveness. These very Śaktis under the impact of *Māyāśakti* get transformed into the five *kañcukas* leading to the reverse attributes of limited knowership and doership, imperfection, impermanence and fixedness and these very *guṇas* cause ignorance (*ajñāna*). Along with them arise the three impurities (*malas*) of *āṇava*, *māyīya*, *kārma*, causing loss of independence, duality, good and bad *vāsānas*. Enwrapped by *Māyā* and *Māhāmāyā* follow the Vijñānakala Pramātās, Pralayākala Pramātās and Sakala Pramātas.[83] Of these the Vijñānakala experients are free of *kārma* and *māyīya mala* but not free of *āṇava-mala*. The other two rest in *Māyātattva* and are not cognizant of anything.[84] Their ignorance (*aviveka*) of *tattvas* is called *Māyā*.

In fact, any worship of Śiva is the worship of one of his Saktis. Evidently the host of Pratipramātās, the objects of worship, are the diverse manifested forms of Parameśvari Śakti; the evolution and expansion of the whole universe from *Śiva-tattva* to *pṛthvī-tattva* is the unfoldment of his Śaktis. The entire cosmos shines in the pure *prakāśa* of Śiva like an image. In His *prakāśa*-mirror is reflected the image of His infinite Śaktis through His own absolute wish (*icchā*). He does not need any mirror other than His own for the shining and reflection of that image. He is *prakāśa*-mirror wherein are reflected

the image of His infinite Śaktis through His own sovereign will that causes the manifestation, sustenance and dissolution of the universe. The entire course of manifestation and dissolution (*saṃhara*) is the expression of his Śakti. It is obvious that Śaktism holds the key to the mystery of Śaivism and all rites and ceremonies associated with Tāntrism. The Āgamas assimilate the mother-goddesses as the numerous Śaktis of the Lord (*Cit-Śakti, Jñāna-śakti, Kriyā-Śakti,* and *Ānanda-śakti* etc) as the offshoots of his one Supreme *Svātantrya Śakti.* Thus the universe, according to the tantrics, arises not from *Māyā* or *Avidyā*, or beginningless *vāsanās* or *prakṛti* or Īśvara but from absolute freedom (*Svātantrya*) alone which subsumes the manifold Śaktis of the Lord.

Obviously the tantrics were at pains to justify the division of society into two broad categories of those who are conversant with the theory and practice of mantras and those who live in *Māyā-tattva*. It is the latter principle that throws a veil over pure consciousness and is that material cause of physical manifestation, the source of the five *kañcukas*. The *māyīya-mala* gives to the soul its gross and subtle body, and brings about a sense of difference. This would suggest that the different groups of Mantras and Mantresas were in reality those brāhmaṇas who claimed to know the Sadāśiva *tattva* or the *Īśvara-tattva* in which capacity they were far superior to Sakalākalas and others who, owing to their limitations, were bound to be inferior in rank and status.

The question why man (*jīva*) is in bondage because of *Māyā* and the five *kañcukas* is tackled in the Āgamas thus. It is held that *Ātmā* which is all-knowing, all powerful and of the nature of *jñāna* cannot be held in bondage because of *ajñāna*. Like the manifestation of Śiva in which He descends to the level of a limited *jīva* (embodied spirit), the Āgamas maintain that bondage or ignorance is self-imposed by the *Ātman*. As a result of this bondage, the *jīva* becomes a *paśu* (animal bound to domestic life), and the bondage, far from being an unreal limitation, becomes real. This would suggest that the bondage is not a creation of Śiva but is in the very nature of the *jīva* become a *paśu*. Thus the subordination of the *paśu*, the lower categories of the society, is voluntary and not the result of any social discrimination. He has chosen to remain in that position of his free choice and volition, without any coercion on the part of the upper classes. To win his freedom from bondage (technically known as *svarūpa prathana*),[85] he has to try various *upāyas* (means) to regain

what he has lost as a result of his limited Śaktis. The Āgamas thus clearly show that the bound *jīva* is capable of self-fulfilment provided he realises his inherent potential to throw off the yoke of bondage. In practice this seems to have been extremely difficult to realise since the brahmanas always preached that it was ignorance that led to bondage the removal of which was possible only through *jñāna* of which they happened to be the chief custodians. Their ambivalent attitude could hardly promise any hope of liberation for these classes. By maintaining that *Ātmā* in its true *Śiva Svarūpa* was completely all powerful and that by the limitation of its own Śaktis it becomes limited, the brāhmaṇas exonerated themselves from any blame of exploitation and appropriating the social surplus. They held the ignorance of *Ātmā* primarily responsible for the *jīva's* bondage, which, it was stated, was the state of *apūrṇa jñāna* (incomplete knowledge) the absence of which means a free and sovereign *ātmā*. Far from giving any rational explanation of this change-over, the Agamas maintain that it is the sport (*līlā*) of Param Śiva, who, in spite of His assuming such a limited *Ātman*, is still *pūrṇa* (Indivisible).

How do the Śaivāgamas account for the crisis of the individual's personality?

The Āgamas maintain that our consciousness is fragmented, torn into states and conditions and processes, and therefore our identity is involved in a crisis. It is lost. Our ego-involvement in phenomenal vortex strains our life. As long as our *Kuṇḍalinī* (the energy-store) is asleep, we are outward-oriented, the subject-object duality persists and we find ourselves phenomenally boṇd. The Āgamas, therefore, prescribe the path of *sādhana* for the awakening of the stored-up energy, called *Kuṇḍalinī*. Once the practitioner starts his *sādhanā*, the *Kuṇḍalinī* passes through the six centres (*Ṣaṭcakra*). Its journey starts from the "root basic" centre (*mūlādhāra cakra*) to the "Brahma's Crevice" (*brahmarandhara*). The *Kuṇḍalinī* is styled "the mystic fire." It transforms the individual, changing his normal orientations and attitudes, which results in the re-organisation of his energies and a re-structuring of his personality. After reaching its destination, the *Kuṇḍalinī* returns home (*mūlādhāra*) by the same path of its ascent. During its ascent the individual experiences illumination and during its descent he is suffused with tranquility. Thus he reaches the highest centre of consciousness, the lowest centre being the home of energy. While

the highest centre is the residence of consciousness (Śiva), the lowest centre or the home of *Kuṇḍalinī* is Śakti (the home of energy). Sādhanā thus brings them together. This secures the *sādhaka* the delight of undifferentiated existence. This is *paravṛtti* (total-transformation). The stress-producing conditions disappear and the ordinary co-ordinates are transmuted. This is the regeneration of the individual. It is his revitalization and re-integration in another sense. This is what, according to the Tantric ideology, secures the individual his *Svātantrya*. The dichotomy of his thought and actions is ended and his mind becomes "sky-like" (*kha-sama*) and is freed from all specific fixations. Obviously, the Śaivāgamas seek to deflect "the power of activity" from the phenomenal canvas or the external world of things to the universe within, leading to enduring and unbroken inner identity. The individual realizes the 'I-ness' (*ahaṃtā*) or 'self-awareness' in his own being. He perceives the entire universe as the expression of Śiva Śakti.

The logical analysis of Śivahood is found in the *Parātriṃśikā*. 'A' is Śiva, the Absolute Being; 'ha' is Śakti. When Śiva ('A') gets manifested externally, it is Śakti. This means that if we see Śiva in the form of the universe, it is Śakti. If we see it in its transcendental form, it is Śiva, because its Śakti aspect is then in repose (*Viśrānti*). When Śiva gets agitated, it is Śakti. In fact, Śiva is neither agitated nor un-agitated. He is beyond these. He is everything at the same time: agitated and un-agitated, universal being and transcendental being. If we contemplate Śiva in the form of the universe, it is the *Kriyāśakti*, or energy. If we contemplate the supreme being as transcendental or beyond agitation in its complete repose when there is no stir, it is *Prakāśa/akhaṇḍa bodha/jñāna* (awareness) in which everything is known. So energy cannot be separated from Śiva and Śakti cannot be separated from *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa*. We imagine these as two because otherwise we cannot understand complete Śivahood. Just as the utterance of the name of 'Rāma' instantly brings to our mind the appearance of the body, which is both the knower and doer simultaneously, likewise Śiva and Śakti is one in the *Prakāśa* and *Vimarśa* aspects (awareness-energy). 'A' is manifest in the mass of letters; it is in *vikāsa* (brightness/radiance) in the form of alphabet (*varṇa-samāmnāya*). *Visarga* is a symbol of manifestation, in which awareness and activity unite; the unity is spoken of as *Kāma-Kalā* (aspects of desire). *Prakāśa*, when implicit in

Vimarśa, is represented by a white coloured drop, symbolic of semen or male energy, *Vimarśa* as implicit in *Prakāśa* is symbolised by a red-coloured drop, also called sound (*nāda*), denoting female energy. The two coloured drops really are two aspects of the transcendental drop. Interaction between awareness and activity is described as *ānanda* (bliss), which is also the experience of the *yogī* in the practice of his *Kuṇḍalinī*. In Vedantic parlance the same truth is expressed in terms of the Being, *Sat* and the consciousness, *Cit*, their common or rather their one nature being Bliss, *Ānanda*. It is what the yogī strives for. He discovers the pure and undifferentiated nature of Consciousness—the *Cit* or *Saṃvit* (Śiva of tantric ideology), which is one everywhere—the Spirit. This Consciousness reveals itself as Śakti when it manifests as energy. All manifestation is a product of this Consciousness as power. It is only a transformation of Niṣkalah Paramśiva into his kinetic Śakti which is pregnant with an immeasurable power of action and knowledge. The change suffered in the process is no change at all in its essence or nature. It is the same protozoan cell of our biological science that divides and sub-divides itself, producing and reproducing into various shapes and forms and yet not losing its original nature and essence. This is Param Śiva's free will (*Svātantrya*).

NOTES

1. *VB*, 18 ff.
2. *Ibid.*, 18-19.
3. *ŚD*, III, 5-6.
4. *TA*, VIII, 397-399, pp. 257 ff; *SD*, I, 39.
5. *Ibid.*, I, 156, p. 172, p. 159; *SD*, III, 68-69.
6. *Mā Vi Ta*, VIII, *passim*, *TA*, IV, pp. 94-96.
7. *TA*, I, 1 and comm.
8. *NT*, XVIII, 87-90.
9. *Ibid.*, XXII, 27-28, 33 ff, VIII, 87 ff.
10. *Ibid.*, 18.
11. *ŚD*, III, 2, 3; *NT*, XVI, 83-84.
12. Cf. *Kubjika Tantra* Paṭala I, she is the *Ānanda*-Rūpinī Devī, by whom the Brāhman manifests itself.
13. *ŚS*, I, 3 and comm.
14. *TA*, I, pp. 76-77; *PS*, 16-17.

15. 2a. *ŚD*, I, 29-33.
16. *ŚS*, III, 3 and comm.
17. *Tantrasadbhāva*, quoted in *ŚS*, III. 3 Comm.
18. *ŚS*, III, 9 and comm.
19. *IP*, I, 8-11.
20. *ŚS*, III, 42 and comm.
21. *TA*, Vol. IX p. 131; Vol. VIII, XIII, 107; Vol. VI, IX, 14.
22. The ceaseless five-fold activity of Śiva is manifestation, maintenance of manifestation, withdrawal of manifestation, veiling of self and grace (*Tantrasarva*, p. 75; *NT*, XXI, 44).
23. *ŚD*, I, 37-38.
24. The whole manifestation constitutes thirty-six tattvas, Śiva being the thirty-seventh.
25. *Paratrisika*, p. 258.
26. *ŚD*, 1, 2.
27. *Ibid.*, III, 2, 3.
28. *IP*, III, 2, 7.
29. *Ibid.*, II, 2.4.
30. *Mā Vi Tan*, Iv. 4.
31. *TA*, III, 4.
32. *ŚD*, I, 32.
33. *TA*, I, 108; *SD*, II, 19.
34. *NT*, XXI, 41.
35. *Paratrim*, p. 19 etc.; *TA*, II, 28.
36. *TA*, III, 100.
37. *PS*, pp. 3-4.
38. *IPV*, I, 1. 5. 16.
39. *TA*, IX, 22.
40. *ŚS*, III, 30.
41. For a discussion of *Śuddhadhvā and Aśuddhādhvā* see *Śivadṛṣti*, I, *passim*; *Īśvarapratyabhijñā-Vimarśini* III, *passim*, etc.
42. *ŚS*, I, 1; *Mā Vi Tan*, II, 58-60.
43. *Mā Vi Tan*, IX, 36-37, XVIII, 29.
44. *TA*, III, 136-148.
45. *TA*, III, *passim*.
46. *VB*, *aśeṣavācya vācakamayam Jagat*.
47. *Mā Vi Ta*, II, *passim*.
48. *IPV*, *II* 194.
49. *TA*, Vol. VI, pp. 50-51.
50. *Mā Vi Ta*, II, *passim*.

51. *Tantrasāra*, VIII, p. 75.
52. *TA*, Vol. VIII, xiii, 103; vol. Vi, p. 116; vol. III, p. 283.
53. *Ibid.*, Vol. III, p 283; *IP*, 3.1.7.
54. *ŚS*, II, 9, *nartaka ātmā*.
55. *ŚS*, I, 3; *Svacchanda*, II, 39-41.
56. *TA*, Vol. VI, p. 156.
57. *Anuttara Prakāśa Pañcāśikā*, 22.
58. *Abhinavagupta*, p. 250.
59. *IPV*, II, p. 220.
60. *ŚS*, 1.2 and comm.
61. *Śat*, S, p. 5.
62. *ŚS*, 1.2 and comm, 3 and comm, 7 and comm.
63. *Sarvacara* quoted in *SS*, 1.2 comm.
64. *ŚS*, III. 9 and comm.
65. *ŚS*, III. 10.
66. *PS*, Karika, XVII; *Tantrasadbhāva* quoted in *ŚS*, III.2 comm.
67. *Mā Vi Tan*, II, *passim*.
68. *ŚS*, III, 36 and comm.
69. *PTV*, p. 118.
70. *IP*, III, 2.8.
71. *Ibid.*, III, 2.10.
72. *Svacchanda*. IX, 93-95; *Mā Vi Tan*, I, 17-26.
73. *ŚS*, III, 35.
74. *Ibid.*, 1.2-3.
75. Cf, *Mbh*, V. 75; V. 72; *Arānyaka Parva*. 187. 11.
76. *Supra*.
77. Chatterji, *Kashmir Saivism*, pp. 148.
78. 173-174 (Ved Kumari).
79. 174.
80. Chatterji, *Kashmir Śaivism*, *passim*.
81. *Supra*.
82. *Mā Vi Ta*, XIV, 39 ff.
83. *Mā Vi Ta*, XIV, 36 ff.
84. *Supra*.
85. Quoted in *TA*, I, 33, pp. 64-65, 9. 192.

10
An Overview

The Āgamas comprise numerous tribal and regional cults and share certain common modalities such as initiation by a *guru*, secretiveness of ritual performance and employment of symbolism. This would suggest the impact of trans-Himālayan cults, the introduction of Śakti worship and the use of mono-syllabic words as employed by *yoginis*, who appear to have been mainly of non-Indian extraction. It seems that the *yoginis* were the first to employ a symbolic speech (*sandhabhāṣā*) in their ritualistic practices to attain *siddhis*. They seem to have exercised considerable influence in mastering the elements. They may have helped their partners to realize that the forces that operate in the world are all dormant within the person at a different plane and, if harmonized effectively, could lead to some extra-ordinary power. This possibly explains the importance of the various *mudrās* (hand-gestures) adopted in the tantric *sādhana* as means of controlling the five vital functions (*pañcaprāṇa*) and gaining mastery over psychic energy. The Śaivāgamas take the human body as a *maṇḍala*, which denotes the entirety of existence in which the individual is to centre himself correctly. It is like the *maṇḍala* device of cosmogonic model that represents the lay-out of the entire earth, with mount Meru as the central point in it. Two instances may be cited to illustrate this concept. *Svastikā maṇḍala* illustrates the arrangement of the universe and the vital currents within the individual. *Nāḍī-maṇḍala* illustrates the involvement of macrocosm in microcosm. Most of these practices might not have found much favour with the Vedic puritans but the process of assimilation and absorption seems to

have started in response to the needs of the folk cults. This is indicated by the adoption of many tantric practices like *mudrās* (hand-gestures), *mantras* (spells), *mandalas* (magic designs?), together with their methods of exposition, in the Vedic orthodox circles. Similarly, the transformation of the Vedic hymn Gāyatrī into a stylized, iconic goddess within a definite tantric framework shows how far the process of assimilation of ideas and practices could go in response to the needs of a changing society, without the rigidity of religious beliefs and Vedic prejudice.[1]

The *svarūpaprathana* (recognition of one's true self) is the aim of the Śaivāgamas. The Āgamas maintain that the individuality of the limited individual subject is due to ignorance of the real nature of his true self. This is the reason why He (Param Śiva) is called *puruṣa*. Puruṣa is essentially nothing more than the ignorance of being perfect in reality. It is because of the limitedness through association with different bodies, vital airs and *buddhis* (intellects) that *puruṣas* are many. And the limited soul is the enjoyer of the fruits of his action and, therefore, he is in bondage. This would mean that limitation is self-imposed and that disparities arise because of the very nature of the limited individual soul who is the enjoyer of the fruits of his action. All religious disciplines—Hindu, Buddhist, Jaina, Zen—claim that once the free state of mind is achieved, the bonds are broken and the individual is free. He does not die out. Though seemingly attached to the world, he gives up all worldly desires and ambitions. But he is no ascetic nor does he don the robes of a monk. He is what the Buddhists would call *Sanditthiko* (relevant to the present life), *akaliko* (not removed in time). He discovers his identity in a world of mixed forces and participates in it with good cheer, greater strength and better perspective.

The aim of tantric *sādhanā* is to free the world bound consciousness (*saṃsāra*) of the individual and to set him on the path of exploring higher and deeper levels of consciousness, which the *Upaniṣads* speak of as "the many inner mansions" or what the Buddha described as "the worlds within man." A consciousness, freed from the bondage with facts, is recognized by the Āgamas as the true consciousness of the individual. The tantric discipline seeks to plug the openings that make consciousness outward-oriented. This does not, however, mean rejection of the world or extreme asceticism. The Āgamas nowhere propound the *saṃnyāsa*

thesis, but rather encourage active participation with the world. This would suggest that the individual is inextricably bound to facts over which he has little control, the only way of release being to make the consciousness inward-oriented. An awareness of inner consciousness thus serves to remove the illusion of diversity. He perceives that the social stratification based on unequal distribution of productive forces is not only natural but inherent in the very scheme of things.

The major components of the tantric discipline suggested by the Āgamas take the form of withdrawals, rejections and restraints. Man being the chief concern of the tantra, his innate impulses are sought to be so organized through rituals and *yoga* as to overcome his natural limitations. He is, in fact, a microcosm—a miniature universe, essentially homologous with macrocosm. The cosmos is not merely his extension; it is his projection. The tantric ideology claims to realize the latent energy, otherwise lying dormant within him, through the saving grace of the *guru,* whose total control is apparent both in the material and spiritual fields. The tantric *guru* seeks personality reintegration through the use of *yantra* and *mantra,* which are supposed to operate not on the gross physical body alone, but on the subtle body of the *sādhaka* as well. The individual context in the Āgamic tradition thus assumes great importance. What is stressed is the ideal of quiet contemplation as against the goal of 'a joyful life', here and hereafter, so prominently reflected in the Vedic hymns. This explains the key role of the *guru,* and the significance of the *Caitanya-saṃskāra* through which the consciousness of the *sādhaka* is merged into the consciousness of the *guru.*

The sādhaka's predicament arises from the fact that he is a bound *jīva.* He has little or no control over the forces that operate on him. It is not his indifference to the realities of life or non-fulfilment of his role that accounts for his miseries. The tantric *sādhanā* (practice of spiritual discipline) enables him to see his true nature and the falsity of all distinctions between one's own self and that of others. He is liberated when he considers himself identical with the self-consciousness "I", which is the prompter (*adhiṣṭhātṛ*) of all subjects from Sadāśiva and Īśvara down to a worm. This would suggest that the social order he inherits is basically what in Śaiva terminology is called a mass of *tattvas* (elements) that is completely merged in Śiva who is pure consciousness and bliss. It

is eternal self-consciousness and bliss. It is absolutely changeless. The life-style and outer habits of a *sādhaka* simply conform to what his innate nature demands of him. His emphasis is on practice, not on theory. His method is in tune with nature, individual as well as universal. To know his true *svarūpa* is his liberation. Paradoxically this may explain the changeover of the *sādhaka* from a human to a super-human being in his quest of the good and the true in life. And this is what constitutes his freedom (*svātantrya*).

It is evident that a liberated *sādhaka* is in every way like a Bodhisattva. He is free and yet not a *sanyāsin* (renouncer of the world). He is a true Bhairava born to dispel the doubts and fears of bewildered human beings. He leads his kinsmen to the path of evolution and welfare. His true *svarūpa* (nature) corresponds with them in all respects. He discovers his Śivahood, and with the power of obscuration (*Māyā*) removed, his pure self, in which the whole universe is reflected and all seeming differences disappear, alone shines. This is what the philosophy of the Śaivāgamas means to say: "the liberated looks upon the common object of perception as one with himself, as does the great lord, but the bound sees it as altogether different from himself."

From the foregoing it may be assumed that the tantric practice was the final stage of religious experience. It shared some common working principles in an advanced socio-religious consciousness of the aspirants. We cannot rule out the possibility of connections and link between the tantric phase and an elaborate ritual associated with mother-goddess worship. It seems that the cultural development of the tantrics was moulded or at least influenced by the mother goddess cult as early as the second century B.C. At Semthan (Bijbehara) we have a terracotta figurine of a headless goddess, most probably that of Anahita.[2] She is draped in a typical Achaemenian dress. Moulded in low relief, the standing female figure wears a kind of scarf, a *chhannavīra* across the breasts shown flat, armlets, *mekhala* (girdle) in three strips. The left hand is placed on the head of an unidentified figure. She could either be a mother or a mother goddess. At Tajkistan (Central Asia) we have got similar deities, indicating some sort of mother goddess worship. The very nature of the total cultural milieu of this period basically appears to be the same—the popularity of Mother Goddess cult in Central Asia and Kashmir. The skeletal remains of a woman at Burzahom[3] (third millennium B.C.) suggests that after her first

burial she received a secondary burial too. In the first burial her brain was removed after trepanning and in the second one the body was painted with red ochre. It looks as if she occupied a position of trust and supreme importance in the tribe or alternately she may be a grim embodiment of the mother goddess who is also the guardian of the dead—an underworld deity concerned alike with the corpse and the seed corn buried beneath the earth. She seems to be a tutelary goddess to whom the tribe turned for worship and protection. In the absence of any other objects of religious significance and even terracotta female figurines so far traced, we cannot form any opinion about the religious ideas and sentiments of the people in the pre-historic past of Kashmir. Nevertheless, the tantric practices and rituals emphasize the role of *yoginīs* who seem to have replaced the earlier mother goddesses as symbolic representation of fertility cult. Woman plays an important role in magico-sexual rites to promote the fertility of the soil and agricultural fruitfulness. James states that in primitive thought the woman was not only the symbol of generation but the actual producer of life.[4] Starbuck feels that female deities have often enjoyed the highest place among the gods. This depends upon the nature of the social organization and the respect in which women are held.[5] Mother goddess cult played an important role in the transition of society from hunting and food gathering to agriculture and herding with antecedents going back into the Palaeolithic.[6] Mother principle thus appears to have become one of the most popular objects of worship in the wake of the growth of agriculture and the origin of the village communities,[7] followed by the belief in an afterlife and the transmigration of souls and the cycle of re-birth.[8] The supreme mother was believed to fill the universe with fertility and abundance and was characterised by naturalistic and sensuous form. In fact the material mode of life of a people ordinarily provides the rationale for the type of deity and the manner of worship prevalent in a given society.[9] Mother as a whole is a symbol of creative life and the parts of her body are not physical organs but numinous symbolic centres of whole sphere of life. She is the giver of nourishment and is everywhere a revered principle of nature on which man is dependent in pleasure and pain.[10]

From the circumstantial evidence available to us, it seems that the non-Vedic religion of Kashmir consisted of the cult of Mother-goddess, worship of *liṅga* and *yoni,* which was subsequently

transformed into the worship of Śiva-Śakti. The concept of Śiva-Śakti as the Male and Female principles foreordains the whole process of creation or what the Śaivas would like to call the process of involution and evolution, in which the one supreme consciousness manifests itself into numerous entities and then reverts to complete Śiva state in which Śakti also is not differentiated (*saṃhārakalā*), the state of differentiation being technically known as *ṣṛṣṭikalā*. The tantrics conceive the human body as the abode of all mysteries of the universe (man being viewed as epitome of the universe) and regard the practice of Śaiva-yoga as the means of self-recognition. All these principles, as components of an undifferentiated religious and ritualistic complex, may be termed as tantrism or the tantric tradition. The process of evolution and involution, if experienced within oneself, is called *Kaulika-Siddhi*. It is a reflex action going on continuously in the same manner as we find it at a higher or cosmic level. The tantras recognize two distinct stages in the process of differentiation when in the Śakti-state there is diversity in unity and at the *nara* (male) stage there is complete diversity. This explains how Param Śiva assumes different forms through his Śakti. It reflects the attitude of the non-Vedic people whose local or tribal deities were first identified with the different names of the mother-goddesses and later with Śiva-Paśupati, the non-Vedic god. The numerous entities in which Śiva manifests himself are, in fact, his various Śaktis which account for complete diversity, which in the process of evolution, transforms itself into unity in diversity and finally into complete unity. The iconographic representation of different mother-goddesses and the numerous rituals associated with them clearly indicate the extension of agricultural economy. Numerous rituals, mainly sexual in character, were designed to secure the fertility of fields. The human participants of the rite of sexual intercourse identified themselves with Śiva and Śakti respectively. In the bliss of sexual union the human pair claimed to realize the divine bliss of Śiva-Śakti or *mukti* (liberation) in the same way as the technique of sexual ritual ensured fecundity (*bhukti*) in food-production. The tantric ritual was, in fact, closely associated with the religious life and economic activity of the non-Vedic people. The *leit-motiv* of the Āgamas is that Paraśakti is both the source and essence of the whole universe.[11] The followers of the Vedic tradition had to give Vedic sanction to those religious systems like Pañcarātra, Pāśupata,

Śākta, Gāṇapatya, Trika, etc which were exclusively tantric and extremely popular among the masses, who worshipped a number of mother-goddesses. The higher religions, in order to gain popularity and wider acceptance, had to accommodate the mother-cult of the lower strata of society, which accounts for the equipollence of Śiva and Śakti.

In the process of brāhmaṇisation of the tribal society, brāhmaṇas as *gurus* come to represent Śiva. Such ascription was a typical elitist stance aimed at concentrating social and economic power in the hands of tantric brahmanas. The surrender of a village or a part thereof on behalf of the sadhakas explains the elitist motivation of the *ācāryās* and the concern of the feudal oligarchy to seek their protection and moral support against the peasantry. The Acaryas made moral efforts to transform a *paśu* into a *Vīra* or the *jīvas* (*deha pramātās*) into superior aspirants (*divya sādhakas*). The Āgamas adopted a liberal attitude towards all external formalities and doctrinal intricacies to ensure a regular and uninterrupted supply of labour potential. In the case of the society this attitude is marked by the rejection of the caste-system and *saṃnyāsa* and the application of all the three *upāyas*: *Āṇava, Śākta* and *Śambhava,* as means to realize the Supreme Reality. The reason why *Āṇavopāya* is not inferior and the *Śāktopāya* superior[12] is due to the fact that in either case the *Ācāryās' Śaktipāta* (the grace of divine mothers) was a governing factor in determining the *sādhaka's* degree of devotion and observance of *vratas*. In fact, the underlying idea and purpose behind *Śaktipāta* was to silence dissent and any possible expression to voices of social protest. The *Śaktipāta* (divine grace by which the empirical individual turns to and realizes his essential divine nature) was aimed at the regimentation of the new relations of production following the large scale transfer of peasant-holdings and rural-craft workers to different categories of landed priests. This was the social dimension of the *Śaktipāta* ideology in which the individual was freed from the trammels of routine and human exertion and could safely rely on the grace of his *guru,* who alone knows what is proper and what is not proper.[13] This represents the changing social pattern arising out of the new economic conditions resulting from the changes in the mode of production. In pre-class societies men could hope to bring the forces of nature under control by collective rituals which were now monopolised by the brahmanas who represented gods on the occasion of the perfor-

mance of those rituals and whose observance of Śivācāra assured the *sādhakas* immunity from the bonds of *jīva* (*pauruṣa pāśa*).[14]

The diffusion of Śakta ideas influenced the evolution of seven mothers (*saptamātṛkās*) as cult deities. Towards the close of the fifth century their number was reduced to five to correspond with the five foundational śaktis of Śiva. The panel of five mothers was worshipped in a group. The goddesses separately represented manifestation and withdrawal of the world process. They were associated with five principal *brāhmaṇical pramātās* to fulfil the principle of involution and evolution. This is the course of extra-mundane manifestation from Śiva to *Suddha-Vidyā* whereas the course of mundane manifestation is represented by *Aśuddhādhvā*. On the basis of their experience the experients are broadly classified into two categories. The systematic gradation of *pramatas* and *upāyas* laid down in the Āgamas are imbued with the spirit of aristocracy. The limited experients (*Sakalas*) are those individuals who, as primary producers, could perhaps never rise in the scheme of Śivayoga except though the grace of the *guru*.[15]

For lack of evidence we are unable to trace the steps leading to the merging and identification of the mother-goddesses with Śiva, but the process of birth and generation and those of fertility must have convinced the tantric gurus that the two aspects of the same mystery could find very similar modes of ritual expression in the social complex and the one Param Śiva as the embodiment of manifestation and dissolution. The different forms of material prosperity supposed to result from the performance of a number of rituals to propitiate mother-goddesses did not undergo a great transformation. They still enjoyed greater following than Śiva Pramātā and as Āghora Śaktis were considered instrumental towards the *mokṣa* of *jīvas*. *Yoginīs* occupy an important place in our Āgamas and represent the different aspects of the female principle residing within the human body. Likewise the *Svātantrya Śakti* of Param Śiva manifested herself in different forms. The composite cult of Śiva-Śakti combined to assimilate and absorb the tantric elements. Unlike Vaiṣṇavism where the male gods became more important following the transition of the tribal society from matriarchal to patriarchal one, the tribal mother-goddesses retained their earlier importance and in a way made Siva the embodiment of those very Śaktis that had hitherto been worshipped by the non-Vedic people. Śiva was completely

identified with Śakti. She neither receded into the background becoming his subordinate ally nor lost her popularity with the masses. In fact, she came to be looked upon as the *icchā-śakti* and *kriyā-śakti* of the lord, enjoying an equal footing with him. The initiative towards the assimilation of mother-goddesses may have been taken as early as the first century by some progressive brāhmaṇas who used the tools of the Bauddhas to counteract their concept of momentariness (*kṣaṇikavāda*) and the influx of foreign tribes into Kashmir. To restore the social equilibrium the tantrics not only assimilated the mother goddesses but also tried to maintain the egalitarian structure of the tribal society with the changed circumstances. The brāhmaṇas did away with the rigidity of the *varṇa* basis of society, the pollution theory of purity and impurity or the taboos in regard to food or the worship of the *liṅga*.[16] The Śiva-Śakti concept developed under the influence of Buddhist doctrine of *Śūnya* went a step ahead with the theory of universal consciousness and the belief in the sovereign will of the individual. It served as a unifying force to integrate the tribal and regional loyalties into the one common loyalty of realizing one's true nature through any one of the *upāyas* of Śaivayoga, which was open to all *varṇas*. The Śaivāgamas discarded the theory of incarnation and maintained that the *jīva* was mini-Śiva, who had only to reveal his true self to realize that the bondage and limitations from which he suffered were only self-imposed and the outcome of his ignorance. Irrespective of all *varṇa* distinctions, each one was looked upon as Bhairava. In fact, Śaivagamas completely identify the individual with Śiva. Thus the Advaita of the Śaivas, as it was promulgated in the fifth-sixth century, was both secular and spiritual in content, deriving its inspiration from mother-cult and the doctrines of the Bauddhas. Tantrism, as it came from below absorbed the *lokācāra* of the *Vedas* and *Vijñānavāda* of the Bauddhas and transformed itself into a *Sādhanā-Śāstra* of the masses alongwith their rituals and worship of *Kuladevis*, bhairavas and animism.[17] The fact that Śakti, the mother goddess, was united and identified with Śiva accounts for its popularity with the masses and the growing prestige and influence of tantric *gurus* who were invariably brāhmaṇas. It enjoyed full support of the rich nobility and the plebeians. The tantric Śaivism emphasized the absolute freedom of will (*Svātantryavāda*), explaining the manifestation of the universe as the upshot of that freedom which is shared even by a tiny insect in

the form of the awareness of I-consciousness but which lies obscured because of the innate ignorance of the *jīva* (*āṇava-mala*). Through the unconscious but deep influence of his *āṇava mala*, the *jīva* is deprived of the consciousness of Śakti, which brings about a sense of imperfection in him in the form of limited doership and limited knowership. So what is apparently responsible for his limitedness is his ignorance and the three defilements of *Āṇava mala*, *Kārma mala* and *Māyīya mala*, which bring about a sense of difference and keep him tied to a social system based on *varṇa*. Liberation from bondage depends solely on his acquisition of Śiva consciousness that can find him admission into the class of those experients known as Mantra, Mantreśvara and experients known as Śiva, Rudra and Bhairava. Such an ideology may have reconciled the masses to their social and economic disabilities with the hope of attaining elysium the moment they became aware of their absolute freedom or 'I-consciousness.' The tantric gurus fostered the idea that they were the parents of the *sādhakas*. This is obvious from the *Caitanyasaṃskāra* referred to above and is reminiscent of the tribal outlook. The ideological weapon of *dīkṣā* and the all pervasive influence of *maṇḍalas* kept the classes with conflicting interests together and reconciled the lay devotees to their lot. It is clear that landed *ācāryas*, *maṭhikās*, etc generated the necessary social and ideological climate for extracting social surplus through their *sādhakas*, the graded hierarchy of which was in possession of big estates over which they enjoyed day-to-day control. In the *Āgamas* the feudal society is best seen in the context of the un-equal distribution of the surplus chiefly strengthened by the ideological and juridical factors.

NOTES

1. Refer to goddess Saṃdhyā, *RT*, i. 33.
2. See plates in this book.
3. A S I (A R).
4. E. O. James, *op. cit*, 1959, pp. 31-32, the *Cult of Mother Goddess* (London 1959).
5. James states that "whether or not the mother goddess was the earliest manifestation of the concept of deity, her symbolism unquestionably has been the most persistent feature in the archaeological record of the ancient world, from

the sculptured Venuses of the Gravettian culture in upper palaeolithic and the stylized images of the decorated caves, to the emblems and inscriptions of the cult when it became established in the fertile crescent, western Asia, the Indus valley, the Aegean and Crete between the fifth, and third millennia B.C.".

6. E.O. James, *The Ancient Gods* (London 1960), p. 46.
7. Motichandra, "Studies in the Cult of Mother Goddess in Ancient India," Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, No. 12 (Bombay 1973), pp. 1-3.
8. B. Allchin and R. Allchin, *The Birth of Indian Civilization,* (England , 1968, p. 309).
9. N.N. Bhattacharya, "Indian Mother Goddess", *Indian Studies, Past and Present,* Vol. XI, No. 4, 1969-70 (Calcutta 1970), pp. 329, 348.
10. E. Neumann, *The Great Mother* (London 1955), p. 128.
11. *Mā Vi Tan,* XXI, 20 ff.
12. *TA, XIII,* I.
13. *Mā Vi Tan,* XVII, 71-74.
14. *Svacchanda,* X, 68, *Supra.*
15. *Mā Vi Tan,* XVIII, 66 ff.
16. *Mā Vi Tan,* XVIII-74-81.
17. The *Krām* names of Kashmiri Paṇḍits we usually come across are reminiscent of the fusion of Tantric Buddhism and Kashmir Śaivism. Some of these names are: Watal, Nathi, Bodha, Mughal (*Moglāyan*).

Glossary*

ābhāsa	All that we can perceive; externality of manifestation.
abheda	Nondifferentiated.
abhiṣeka	Initiation by means of consecration of the disciple by his *guru.*
adhiṣṭhātṛ	Prompter.
adhvan	Path—the sixfold course of the virbrating energy; a descent from and a return to primordial unity.
advaita	Non-duality.
āgama	Revealed texts; Sacred Tradition transmitted to Bhairavī or Devī by Bhairava or Śiva; the inner activity of the Lord, pure consciousness.
ahaṃ	The absolute "self-ness" or "that-ness".
ahaṃvimarśa	Self-awareness.
ahaṅkāra	Egoity.
ahantā	"I"- ness; pure subjectivity; see *pūrṇāhantā* and *ahaṃ*.
Ājñā	Command, the sixth mystical centre of the body.

* The English rendering of the words has been adopted from Paul Murphy's "Glossary of Triadism" (Delhi, 1986).

akala	The All, entire, Śiva; one without *kalā tattva*.
akula	The first of the emanations of the pure way; Non-familial; Śiva.
āmarśana	Self-awareness.
amṛta	Nectar of immortality.
anāhata	Inarticulated interior sound produced by the movement of breathing; the fourth mystical centre of the body.
ānanda	Joy, blessedness.
ānandaśakti	Joyful energy.
ānandopāya	Joyful means.
āṇavamala	Limitedness arising from the obscuration of the real nature; the impurity called 'Ānava,' is of two kinds: It consists in (i) the loss to consciousness, *cit*, of its freedom (*svātantrya*); (ii) the loss of power of knowledge (not directly responsible for transmigration; "individual," "infinitesimal" impurity, atomic, reducing the soul to the state of *aṇu* or infinitesimal being.
āṇavopāya	The inferior way of the ordinary soul which practices varied activities (*yoga*, etc) to attain Śiva-hood.
aṇḍa	Cosmic sphere; latent state of the universe.
aṇu	Limited individual soul, which through *māyā* has become fragmented and lost its omnipresence; see *jīva*, *nara*, and *paśu*.
anupāya	The Little Means, the way to final realization of the Ultimate Reality.
anusvāra	Nasal sound (m); incarnate essence of Śiva.
anuttara	The unsurpassed, the highest Reality.
apāna	Inspired breath.
apara	The inferior level of the individual's journey to

	the Absolute.
asāmya	Inequality, unevenness.
Āsana	Seat, throne.
asmitā	"ego"-ness, "I"-ness.
aśūnya	Non-void.
Avalokiteśvara	Bodhisattva of Mercy.
avatāra	'Descent', term usually applied to one of the descents or incarnations of Viṣṇu in animal or human form in each of the great cycles of time.
avidyā	Ignorance.
avikalpa	State of perfect indetermination or undifferentiatedness; free from all determinacy.
behdābheda	Difference-in-identity.
bhairava	The terrific God Śiva who swallows diversity; the absolute, undifferentiated Śiva.
bhairavamudrā	Gesture of the terrific God; mystical attitude.
bhairavaśāsama	Dispensation of the Terrific God, Triadism.
bhairavayāmala	Intimate union of Śiva and energy (= *rudrayāmala*).
bhairavī	The terrific Goddess; consciousness figured as divine energy which swallows all diversity; Śakti of *bhairava*.
bhakti	Divine love.
bhāsā	Splendour, ultimate Reality of the *Krama* system.
bhāva	Universal Being or existence; evolution, "equivalent to becoming" (*saṃsāra*).
bhāva	Being; supreme modality; its opposite *abhāva* ("not being").
bhāvanā	Mystical realization; intense creative

	imagination.
bheda	Difference.
bhūta	The elements of fire, earth, water and air.
bindu	Nucleus; luminous point appearing in the course of the meditation point or *m;* symbol of Śiva; concentration of luminous energy.
bodha	Supreme Consciousness, divine Intelligence—form the substance of Śiva under the same title as *Svātantrya;* illumination.
Bodhisattva	In Mahayana Buddhism a being who, although capable of attaining Buddhahood, renounces this goal in favour of acting as administering angel to humanity; emanation of a *dhyani* Buddha.
brahman	The absolute in Vedānta—it is pure *prakāśa,* divested of energy associated with illusion.
brahmānanda	The joy of Brahman.
brahmāṇḍa	Cosmic egg; universe.
brahmarandhra	Crevice of *brahman,* superior centre equivalent to *dvādaśānta* and *śikhānta.*
brahmatattva	Existence of brahman.
buddhi	Instinct, "mind," faculty of judgement.
buddhitattva	Sāṅkhya category of Instinct.
caitanya	Self consciousness; absolute consciousness.
cakra	Wheel, centre; the centres are situated at different points of the vertebral column and of the brain.
Caru	An oblation (of rice, barley and pulse) boiled with butter and milk for presentation to gods and manes.
cetanā	Introverted consciousness.
Channavira	A harness of crossing scarves worn above the

	waist, as seen in early statues of fertility goddesses.
cidākāśa	Ether of consciousness.
cidānanda	Bliss of consciousness.
cidānandaghana	Pure consciousness and bliss.
cidātman	Principle of sentiency.
cit	Absolute consciousness.
citi	Pure consciousness in its dynamism.
citprakasa	Light of consciousness.
citta	Empirical consciousness.
cittaviśrānti	Quietude; (way of the individual) as against disappearance of thought (*citta-pralaya*—way of Śiva).
dhūrjaṭī	"Matted-Locks—weighted," divine ascetic, Śiva.
dhvani	Resonance.
dhyana	Yoga meditation; visualization of a mental image.
dhyana mudra	Gesture or pose of meditation. The hands rest in the lap, the right above the left with all fingers extended.
dikcārī	Goddess roaming in different quarters; one of the five streams of energy.
dīkṣā	Initiation.
dūtī	Female partner of a *yogī*.
dūtiyajaña	Sexual rite; "consort sacrifices".
dvaita	Duality.
ekagra	Concentration of thought.
gaja	Elephant.
gandharvas	Divinities of the sky and air, the musicians of

	the gods.
gocarī	One of the five currents or streams of energy; the "accessible" Goddess, inferior to *khecarī*.
guṇa/guṇas	One of the three attributes of the Sāṅkhya category of Matter in nature (*prakṛti*) These are—goodness (*sattva*), passion (*rajas*), and darkness (*tamas*).
haṃsa	Goose, Śiva; mystic formula; the soul or spirit typified by the pure white colour of a goose, and migratory like him.
haṃsī	Female flamingo or goose; divine energy.
Hara	The Ravisher, name of Śiva; the Destroyer.
hṛdaya	Heart, mystical centre; proceeding from or produced in the heart; cherished.
huta	Offered in fire; sacrifice to one to whom an oblation is offered.
hutaśeṣa	Left from an oblation.
icchā	Intention, will, desire.
icchāśakti	Power of will.
idanta	Object, objectivity, the "this"-ness.
īśvaratattva	Supreme Lord category.
japa	Recitation of mantra.
jīva	Individual soul or person; breath, see *apāna;* see also *aṇu*, *nara* and *paśu*.
jīvanamukta	The liberated-in-life; the equal of Bhairava, because he enjoys divine energies.
jivanamukti	Liberation-in-life.
jñānaśakti	Cognitive energy; Śiva's Energy of Knowledge.
jñānasiddha	One accomplished in gnosis or knowledge, inferior masters.

jñānavid	The gnostic.
jnanopaya	Way of knowledge; see *saktopaya*.
kāla	Aptitude, determining and limiting activity; subtle energy; that which is responsible for the rise of limited power of action.
kala	Time, one of the five sheaths; (time) is that which is at first responsible for the idea of successive stages in the limited subject.
kalāśakti	Aptitude energy; fragmentary energy.
kālasaṃkarṣaṇī	Energy which destroys time by pressuring it.
kālatattva	Aptitude category.
kālatattva	Time category.
kāli	Divine energy which engenders time; see Bhairavi, Consuming energy; Parvati.
kalpa	An incalculable cycle of time, sometimes described as a day of Brahma.
kāma	Desire; god of carnal love.
kāmakalā	Mystical triangle of the heart.
kañcuka	The five sheaths which cover an individual: *kalā* (aptitude), *vidyā* (knowledge), *rāga* (desire), *kāla* (time), and *niyati* (fate).
kāpālin	Śiva, bearer of the garland of skulls.
kapardin	Ascetic whose hair is curled in the form of a conch shell.
kārmamala	Impurity of action—its relation to the act; the impurity in the form of merit or demerit, when there is the consciousness of the external world as separate from self; in some Śāstras, *kārmamala* alone is held to be primarily responsible for transmigration (see Sāṅkhya, Purāṇa and Bhārata).
kartṛtā	Free activity.

kaula	See *kulamārga*.
kevala, kevalin, kaivalya	Unique, absolute; isolated from transmigration but not achieving identity with Siva.
kha, khe	Hub of the universal wheel at the center of the things.
khecarī	*Lit*. goddess roaming in the sky; regal energy, one of the five currents of energy.
khecarīmudrā	Hand-gesture of the sky-roaming goddess; determined mystical attitude.
khecarīsāmya	Equality that takes after-the sky-roaming goddess; the highest practice that stands for both liberation in life, and final emancipation.
kinnaras	Fabulous beings, half man, half bird; celestial musicians.
krama	Temporal succession, gradation.
kramābhāsa	Practice in which interior happiness is experienced as an oscillation between the self and the universe which is poured out to the exterior, afterwards returning to Self wholly impregnated by external joy.
kramacaryā	Sexual gradation (School) practice, rite.
kriyā	Both ordinary and divine activity.
kriyāśakti	Śiva's energy of activity.
kriyāvaicitrya	Variety (of forms) in action.
ksetra	The 'field' or paradise of one of the Dhyani Buddhas of the four directions.
kṣetrajña	Knower of the self.
kṣetrapati	Owner of the field; the self.
kula	Family; undifferentiated energy.
kulācāra	Observances of the family.
kulācārya	Powerful master; Master of the family.

kulamārga	Way of the family; of energy and sexual practices.
kuleśvara	Lord of the family; Master of the universe.
kulopāya	Familial way or Śiva way.
kumbhaka	Retention of breath.
kuṇḍalinī, kuṇḍalī	Coiled serpent; divine energy of breath and of concentrated virility; śakti in *mūlādhāra cakra* which the *sādhaka* awakens to unite with *brahmarandhra*.
liṅgam	Phallic emblem of Śiva.
mahā	Great, mystical formula of absorption of the cosmos into *bhairava*.
mahākāla	The great time-Destroyer.
mala	Defilement.
manas	Empirical thought; heart.
maṇḍala	Circular, round, magic designs drawn in a circle. It illustrates the arrangement of the universe and the vital currents within the individual.
mandapa	Porch.
manthānabhairava	Śiva who churns the universe; (*manthana*, Śiva).
mantra	Mystic formula.
māntrasiddha	Formula which possesses mystical intuition.
mantravīrya	Efficacy of the formula of the "I".
māyā	Cosmic illusion—objective manifestations as separated from conscious light. It is *Svātantrya*/ free activity of Śiva; Mirific power.
māyāpramātṛ	Conscious subject, the prey of illusion.
māyāśakti	The Mirific power, source of illusion in as much as it refers to the anatomy of divine consciousness in its objective manifestations.

māyāvīn, māyin Magician, Śiva.

māyīyamala Impurity of illusion—cause of cosmic differentiation, the impurity arising from the consciousness of the object as distinct from the subject. (not directly responsible for transmigration).

melāpa Union.

Meru The world mountain of Indian cosmology.

Mithuna Amorous couple.

mudrā Mystical movement or attitude.

mukti Liberation, it is revelation of self-essence.

mulādhāra Roots support, the first mystical centre of the body.

nāda Vibrating energy of sound; mystical sounds heard on leaving the awakening state.

nādabindu Sound nucleus; sound and light (or Śakti and Śiva).

nāḍī Artery; one of the innumerable channels that nourish the centres of consciousness in the body.

nara Individual, see *aṇu*, *paśu*, and *jīva*.

nimeṣa Closing up.

nimīlanasamādhi Ecstasy with eyes closed.

nirodhinī Subtle energy of sound.

nirvikalpa See *avikalpa*.

nirvikalpasamādhi Profound meditation without thought; ecstasies without elements, do not admit subject-object distinction.

niṣkala Indivisible; spontaneous.

nistaraṅga Waveless; free from undulation.

niveśana Penetration into the absolute self.

niyati	Fate; causal restriction. One of the five sheaths; that limiting condition which is responsible for the attachment to a certain fixed object.
Om	Mystical syllable.
pañcakṛtya	The five actions by which the supreme power manifests itself. (viz. creation (*sṛṣṭi*), conservation (*sthiti*), destruction (*saṃhāra*), obscuration (*tirobhāva* or *tirodhāna*), and grace (*anugraha*).
pañcaśakti	The five energies; consciousness (*citśakti*), joy (*ānandaśakti*), will (*icchāśaktī*), knowledge (*jñānaśakti*) and action (*kriyāśakti*).
para	Supreme, transcendence.
parabīja	Supreme source or principle, greatest of the *mantras*.
parāmarśa	Intuitive and global self-conscious awareness; conscious reaction.
Param Śiva	The supreme reality, the absolute; the all.
parāpara	Supreme-non-supreme; subtle level of transcendent—immanent.
parāvāk	Transcendent and undifferentiated word—always shines interiorly, it is pure consciousness (*citi*), free of connotation and of all sound.
parispanda	Subtle vibration.
Pārvatī	Wife of Śiva.
pāśa	Bond.
paśu	Animal (the limited subject) when he is manifested as separate from Him by *māyā*.
paśupati	Śiva, lord of animals; name of the later Rudra Śiva or of a similar deity (associated in the Vedas with Bhava, Śarva, Ugra, etc).
paśyanti	Visioning speech, forming a trio with interjacent and displayed speech. *Parāvāk* and

	Paśyantivāk; are accessible to Īśvara and *Yogīs* alone.
pati	Lord (the subject) when he looks upon the objects as non-different from himself; the first of the three categories of Śaivism—the others are animal (*paśu*) and bond (*paśa*).
pradhāna	Primordial nature; see *prakṛti*.
prajñā	Intuition.
prājñā	Wisdom proper to profound sleep.
prakāśa	Luminous and undifferentiated consciousness; light of consciousness.
prakāśacakra	Wheel of light, right eye of Śiva; it is a union of *dikcarī* (powers of perception) and *gocarī* (organs of action).
prakṛti	Matter; nature.
pralayākala	The subjects, *Śūnya* etc who are essentially insentient. They have the impurity of *karma* also (do not transmigrate so long as the time of dissolution of the universe lasts).
pramāṇa	Norm of knowledge; the means of right knowledge.
pramātṛ	Conscious subject; pure subject.
pramātṛtā	Essence of conscious subject.
Prameya	Object of knowledge; circle of objectivity.
pramiti	Pure consciousness of self and resulting knowledge.
prāṇa	Breath, vital air.
prāṇaśakti	Vital energy.
prathamaspanda	Initial vibration; see *ādispanda*.
pratibhā	Intuition of self, pure illumination which surges spontaneously.

pratibimba	Reflection without object.
pratipatti	Mystical realization.
pratīti	Apperception (clear, conscious perception).
pratyabhijñā	Self awareness system founded by Somananda; Recognition of self as identical with Śiva.
Pratyāhāra	Convention; contraction and fitting in.
Pratyavamarśa	Self-conscious awareness.
puja	Ritual of devotional service.
pūrṇa, pūrṇatā	Fullness.
pūrṇāhantā	Fullness of subjectivity; absolute subjectivity, I identified with the all.
puruṣa	Soul—supreme entity of the spiritual order according to the Sāṅkhya—Cosmic Being of the Ṛg Veda; essentially nothing more than the ignorance of being perfect in reality. It is because of the limitedness through association with different bodies, vital airs and buddhis, that *puruṣas* are many.
rāga	Desire or attachment, one of the five sheaths; that subjective limiting condition which is responsible for the choice of something to the exclusion of other things.
rajas	Passion, one of the three Sankhya attributes which causes suffering.
rasa	Delight in art.
rudra	Spirit (soul) possessing divine powers; which direct the movement of the cosmos.
Rudra	Śiva, the Terrifying.
rudraśakti	Energy of the Terrifying; eminent grace.
rudrayāmala	Intimate union of Rudra and Energy.
śabdabhairava	Sonic tremendous God.

śabdabrahman	Absolute sound.
śabdarāśi	Totality of sounds.
sadākhyā	Pure category; equivalent to *Sadāśiva tattva*; that *tattva* where the consciousness of "being" arises for the first time.
sadāśiva tattva	See above; pure category of true knowledge; the concretisation of "*Cit*" (consciousness).
sadvidyā	Equivalent to *śuddha vidyā*; pure knowledge; it is characterised by the elimination of separateness of the basis and the union of the consciousness of the subjective aspect as "I" and that of the objective as "this," in one resting place (the *cit*); the state of resting of both the I-consciousness and the this-consciousness on one substratum.
sadvidyā tattva/ Śuddhavidyā	Category of pure manifestation; when in the pure *cit*, where the I-consciousness rests, the objective aspect is made manifest by *vidyā* (i.e. grasped as emerging from the "I" then, because of the obscurity of the "this," it is called the state of Sadāśiva, which can be represented as "I-this." But when in the clear consciousness of the "this" aspect the I-consciousness merges, the former-being substratum, it is called the state of 'Īśvara' and the consciousness can be expressed as "this-I".
sahaja	Connate, spontaneous.
sahasrāra	Thousand-spoked, the seventh mystical centre of the body.
sakala	Man provided with a body—the state of beast (*paśu*); all, composite nature.
śaktasiddha	Master of energy.
śakti	Divine energy; phase of self-energy.
śaktikṣobha	Stirring of energy.

śaktipāta	"Fall of energy;" see *anugraha-śakti.*
śaktisaṃkoca	Contraction of energy; opposed to *śaktivikāsa* (blossoming of energy).
śaktitattva	Energy, the second category or emanation of the pure way.
śaktivisarga	Emission of energy.
śāktopāya	Energic way of deliverance through the intermediary of pure energy; way of energy proper to the gradation system.
samādhi	Concentration, peaceful meditation, ecstasy.
samāna	Equilibrated breath; in the state of deep sleep *prāṇa* is called *samāna,* the most essential feature of which is the rest of *prāṇa* for a while in the cavity of the heart.
samāna	Displays sonic energy; pure energy.
samatā	Equality of spirit; homogeneity.
samāviś-samāveśa	Burial in Siva or in His energy; to be totally absorbed.
śambhavopāya	The Divine or Śiva way, the superior way to approach Śiva.
śambhu	Blessed; Śiva, the beneficent.
saṃhārakalā	Destruction (especially the periodical destruction of the universe at the end of a *kalpa*), the process of involution in which the supreme consciousness reverts to complete Śiva state in which *śakti* also is not differentiated.
saṃsāra	The unending cycle of life and re-birth.
śaṃsiddhika	Master of perfect spiritual realization.
saṃskāra	Conceptual latencies; equivalent to *āśaya* and *vāsanā.*
saṃvitti/saṃvid	Consciousness; universal consciousness.
saṅghaṭṭa	Vibrant union of Śiva and Energy, and of the

	sacred.
saṇkalpa	It is consciousness which limits empirical thought and an object which lacks clarity.
saṇkoca	Contraction of energy; means of penetrating the heart.
saṇsāra	The world of transmigration, of perpetual becoming.
śarva	Śiva, the destroyer.
sattā	Existence.
satyasaṅkalpa	Realized intentions.
siddha	Accomplished; spiritual master; beings endowed with certain powers; faculty of a *yogīn*.
siddhi	Perfection; supreme accomplishment.
śivarātri	Śiva, the mystical night.
śivatattva	The highest of categories, the first emanation of the pure way.
spanda	Transcendental motion; vibrancy; vibrant spontaneous energy; *ādispanda* (initial vibration), *parispanda* (subtle vibration), *prathamaspanda* (initial vibration).
sphurana, sphuratta	Vibrant and bursting conscious awareness.
sṛṣṭikalā	The process of evolution in which the one supreme consciousness manifests itself into numerous entities; the creation of the world.
sthiti	Abode, continuance; conservation of the universe.
śuddhavidyā	Pure wisdom, fifth and last emanation of the pure way.
śūlin	Bearer of the trident, Śiva endowed with three energies.

śūnya	Empty; void; consciousness under a limited form.
śunyatā	Emptiness; void; vacuity.
suṣumaṇā (nāḍī)	Middle way connecting the seven mystical centres of the body.
suṣupti	Profound sleep; without dream associated with the knowing subject (*pramātṛ*).
svādhiṣṭhāna	The second mystical centre of the body.
svatantratva	Liberty, freedom.
svātantrya	Divine freedom, taking the aspect of Mirific power; equivalent to *Caitanya* and *vimarśa*; free spontaneity, absolute liberty.
svātantryaśakti	Energy of freedom.
tantra	Scriptural works; religious treatise.
tattva	Ultimate reality; principle of phase of emanation.
tirodhānaśakti	Concealing energy, which veils and obscures reality—cause of differentiation and limitation.
trika	Triadic system of Śaivism founded by Vasugupta; Śiva, Śakti and *nara*.
turīyā	Fourth state, illumination, ecstasy.
turyātita	Beyond the fourth—corresponds to *bhairavahood*. It is the state of Param Śiva. It is characterized by the working of *vyana*.
udāna	Ascending breath reaching *brahmarandhra;* in the state of *turīyā, prāṇa* moves up through mid passage (*suṣumṇa*). (from Vijñānakala to Sadāśiva are in this state).
udyama	Mystical fervour, awakening of the heart.
Umā	Energy, wife of Śiva.
Umāpati	Lord of Umā, Śiva.

unmanā — Energy which transcends thought.

unmeṣa — Supreme awakening, opening up.

upāya — Means of liberation, way of deliverance.

Ūrdhva — Structured *kuṇḍalinī* or coiled energy.

uttara — Bondage from which freedom is attained.

vaikharī — Displayed speech, forming a trio with visioning and interjacent speech; Vākdevī.

vaiṣamya — Disequilibrium resulting from duality.

Vāk — Speech, word.

Vāmā — Energy which projects the outside world.

varṇa — Phoneme, subtle energy of the word.

vāsanā — Conceptual latencies, residues of past act—their role in esthetics and in the creation of the universe; equivalent to *saṃskāra*.

vidyā — Knowledge, discriminating but limited; one of the five sheaths; the distinct consciousness of the objects in the subject; that limiting condition of the insentient subject, such as *Śūnya*, etc which is responsible for the rise of limited cognitive power.

vidyā tattva — Category of (limited) knowledge.

vidyeśvaras — The subjects who identify themselves with pure consciousness and are omniscient and omnipotent in consequence of the destruction of the impurity of *karma*, but possess the impurity of *māyā* because they are conscious of separate objects. (being beyond the sphere of *māyā*, do not have transmigratory existence).

vijñāna — Discriminating knowledge—surpasses all others because it is self-awareness; pure knowledge.

vijñāṇakala/ vijñānakevala	Those who have *vijñāna;* i. e. consciousness, without freedom, as essential characteristic. (being beyond the sphere of *māyā*, do not have transmigratory existence).
Vikalpa	Conceptual dualization which always differentiates one thing from that which it is not, it is the source of subject-object duality.
vikalpa jñānam	Determinate knowledge.
vikalpakriyā	Bipolar activity.
vikāsa	Expansion of energy.
vimarśa	Self-awareness, free act of consciousness appearing as a shock; free consciousness; determinate thought; see *svātantrya*.
vimarśopāya	Way of conscious awareness; see *anupāya*.
virāṭ	Luminous cosmic body according to the Vedas.
vīrya	Vital and virile efficiency; mystic efficiency.
visarga	Emission; energy of breath—in its two points; pure energy of emergence, and projection from duality.
viśrānti	Mystic repose.
viśuddha	Immaculate, the fifth mystical centre of the body.
viśvamoha	Universal delusion.
viyat	Aerial space between heaven and earth, symbol of infinite expansion of spatial void.
vṛtti	Agitation.
vyāna	Pervasive breath, forming a quintet with the ascendant, descendant, equilibrant and vertical breaths; cosmic life.
vyoman	Unlimited or infinite firmament of consciousness.

vyuthāna	Dispersion proper to daily activity, state of sleepless consciousness.
yajna	Sacrifice.
yama	God of death; restrictor.
yāmala	Union of the couple (Śiva and Śakti).
yantra	The cosmic wheel of energy.
yoga	Mystical union, discipline, communication with Universal spirit by practice of ecstatic meditation.
yoganidrā	Mystical sleep.
yogī, yogin	He who is advanced on the path of deliverance; he who is absorbed in Śiva; a *siddha;* Śiva.
yogīndra	Master *yogī,* he who travels the path of Śiva.
yoginī	Initiated female practising *yoga;* divinized energies of the Tremendous state, the liberated one; (with tantrics) a particular *Śakti;* (with Buddhists) a woman representing any goddess who is the object of adoration.
yoginīmelaka	Banquets and secret rites where the *yoginis* take part; divinized energies.

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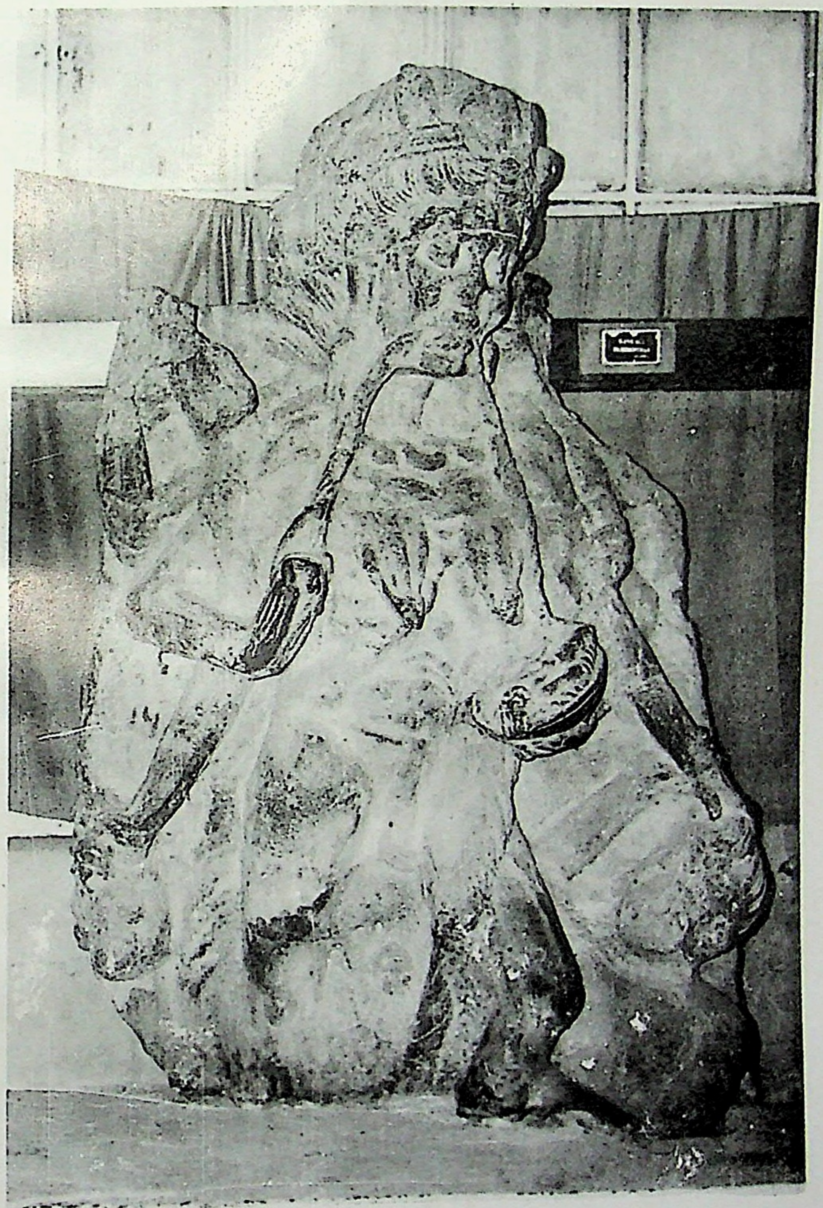
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1. Cāmuṇḍā, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



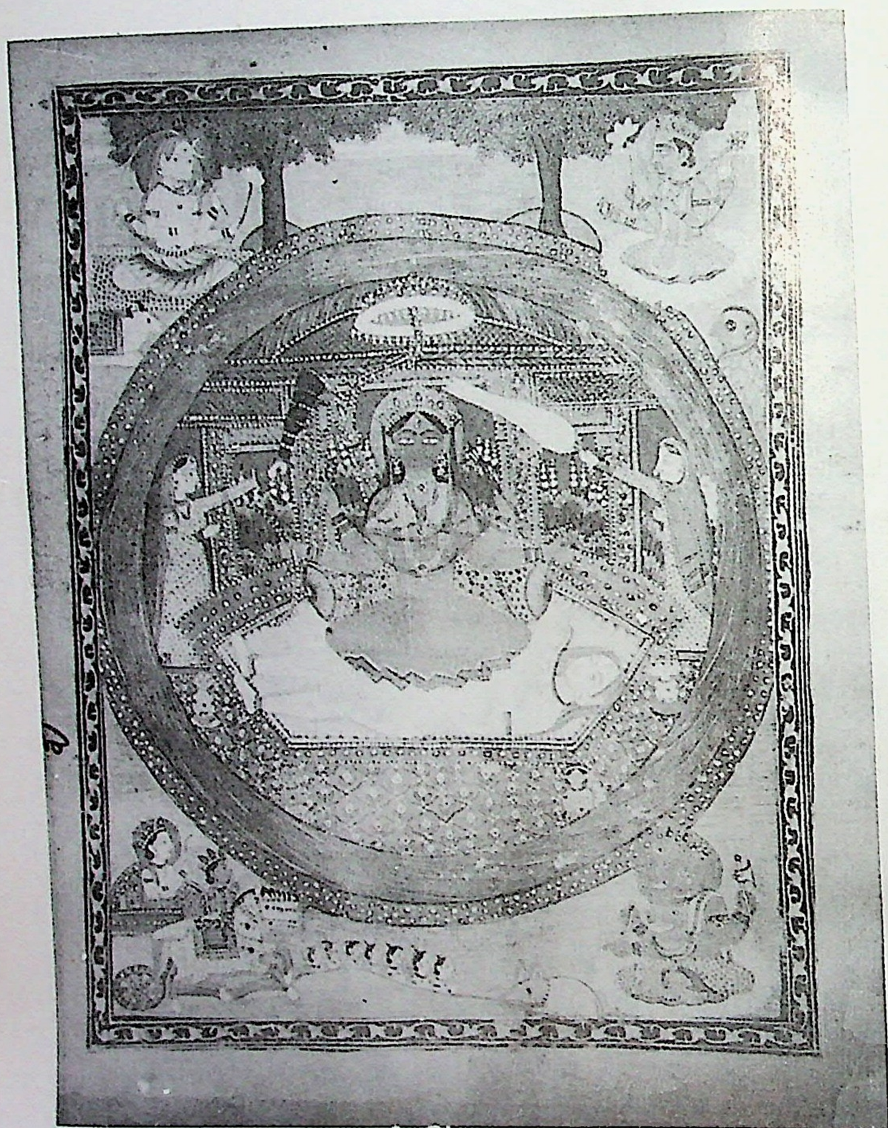
2. Vaiṣṇavī, 7th cent. A. D. in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



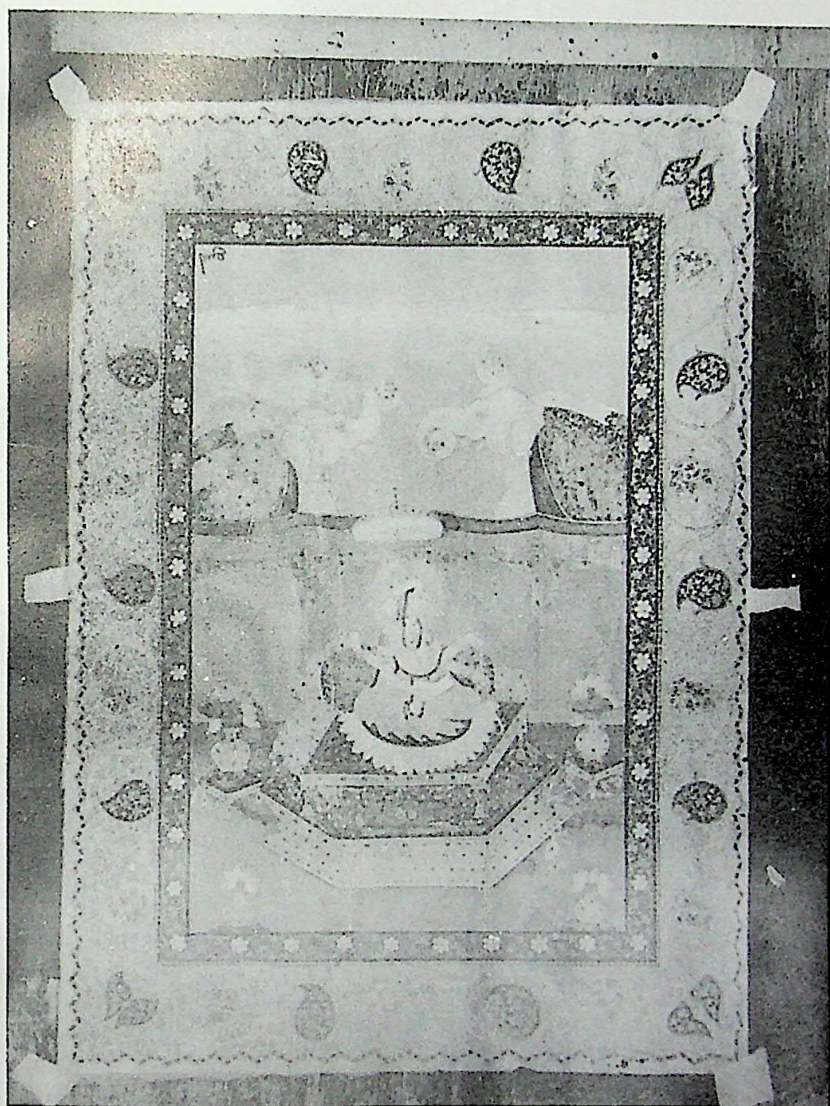
3. Vārāhī in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



4. Indrānī, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



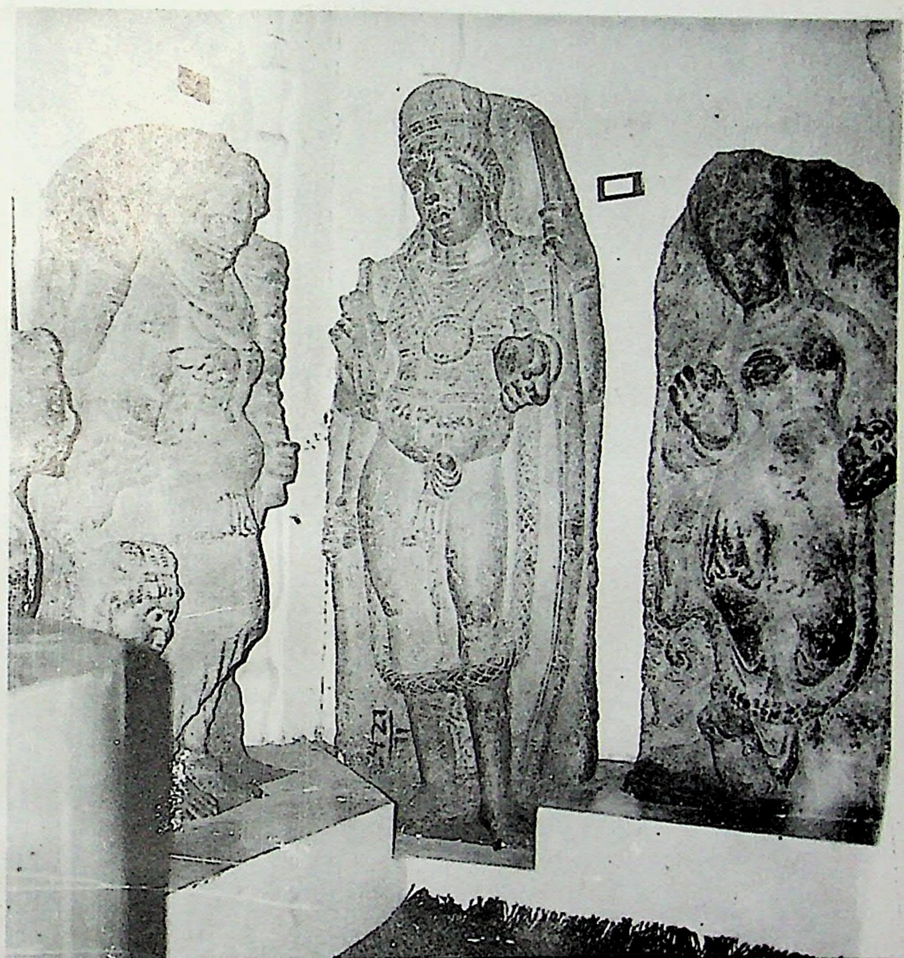
5. Sakti.



6. Śakti.



7. Pārvatī, 7th cent. A.D. in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



8. a) Vārāhī; b) Pinaka Śiva; c) Gaṅga, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



9. Śiva, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.

10. Śiva, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



11. Śiva, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



12. Śiva Mahādeva, Fategarh (Baramula)



13. Śiva Bhairava, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



14. Svacchanda Bhairava.



15. Svacchanda Bhairava.



16. Svacchanda Bhairava.

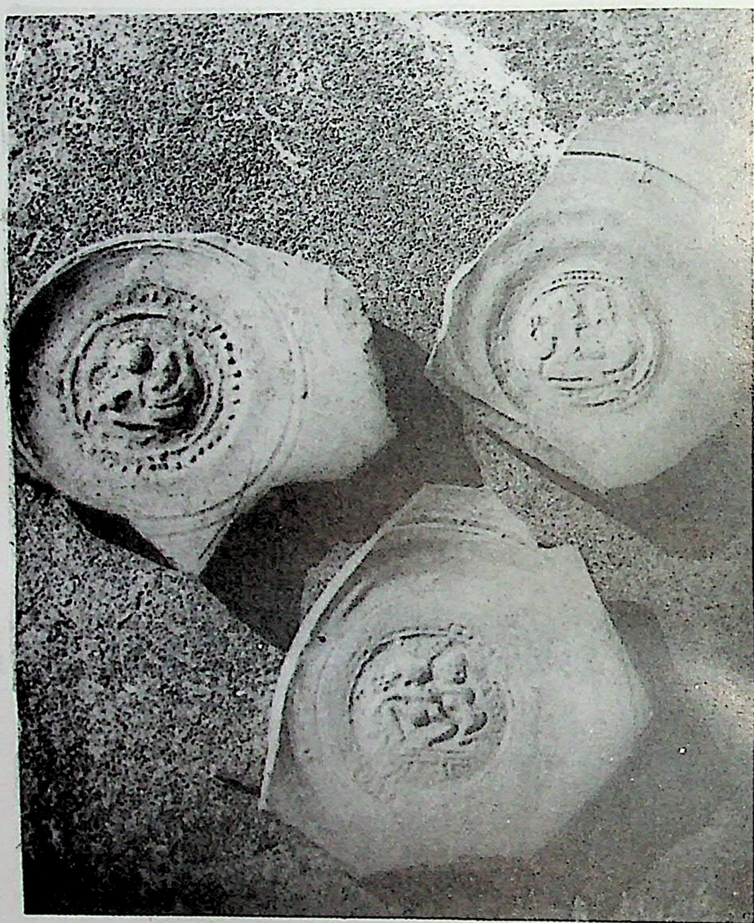


17. Gajāsurasaṁhāramūrti, 7th cent. A.D., in the S.P.S. Museum, Srinagar.



18. a) Kinnaras, Souvra (Kashmir); b) Dancing couple, Souvra (Kashmir), State Department of Archaeology, Srinagar.

19. Mithuna (Souvra and Hawal) State Department of Archaeology, Srinagar.



20. a) Musician couple, Hawal (Kashmir); b) Mithuna, Souvra (Kashmir); c) Amorous couple, Hawal (Kashmir), State Department of Archaeology, Srinagar.